

N. Aronst de Voltaire's (2nd ed.)

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE WAR

OF

Seventeen hundred and forty one.

By M. de VOLTAIRE.

IN TWO PARTS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Carefully revised and compared with the Original;
with the Addition of a Plan of the Battle of
Fontenoy, not in any other Edition.

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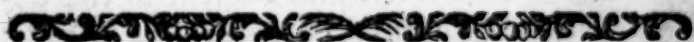
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W A R of 1741.



C H A P. I.

*Situation of the affairs of Europe, and a sketch
of the history of those events which preceded
the war of 1741.*

I Have always considered the Christian powers of Europe as one great republic, whose parts all correspond with each other, even when they endeavour at their mutual destruction. A general consent has established what we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations: the point of precedence or rank of almost every prince has been regulated: the Catholics have two cities in
B common

common, one of which is Malta, the center of perpetual war against the enemies of the Christian name; the other is Rome, which, in more respects than one, is so far the capital of the different kingdoms professing the Roman Catholic religion, that each has a right to nominate one of the principal ministers of the sovereign, and that their ecclesiastic (and even temporal) causes are tried there by the tribunal of the Rota, composed of judges taken from each nation. Upon the frontiers of all catholic states the sovereigns have territories subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a foreign bishop: nothing is more frequent than to see the privileges, the honours, and even the military orders of one country conferred on the inhabitants of another: most princes have even sovereignties situated in the midst of a foreign state; thus it is that the Pope is possessed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; and thus the Venetians have sovereignties in the midst of the Milanese. There is not a prince in Germany, part of whose territories are not somewhere inclosed by those of another prince.

In all these states the old Roman law is in full force; they have all the same learned language; and the several courts have adopted the same living tongue. Commerce has still strengthened these connexions:
merchants

merchants maintain so close a correspondence, even in time of war, that the English have been constantly interested in the Spanish trade, even while they were armed for the destruction of that monarchy; so that when their privateers took a prize, they really plundered their own countrymen. In short, the wars carried on by Christian powers are in such a manner civil wars, that in 1701 Victor duke of Savoy was fighting against his two sons in law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded for the Spaniards in the dukedom of Milan; while his son, who had followed the Austrian party, was very near taking his own father prisoner. In the war carried on by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, 1718, against his cousin Philip V. king of Spain, the duke of Liria served against his father the duke of Berwick. In the war whose history I am going to relate, the kings of France, Spain, Poland, and the elector of Bavaria, were the nearest relations of the queen of Hungary whose territories they invaded; and the elector of Bavaria, in particular, grounded his right to strip her on that very connexion of blood. During the course of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuscany, the present emperor, kept an envoy * at Paris, whose children were fighting against this

* The marquis of Stainville.

very prince: and the sons of the chief minister of Tuscany were all engaged in the French service. A thousand instances of this kind were before our eyes, and yet did not surprize us.

The sovereigns of the different states in this part of the world are all allied either by blood or by treaties; and yet they very seldom conclude either a marriage or a treaty, which does not prove the source of discord.

Commerce, by which they are also necessarily connected, generally divides them: these two motives of war are unknown to the rest of the world: they know of no such thing as a wife bringing war to her husband for her dower, by pretensions to a distant province; they know of no act of confraternity among princes; of no reversion of one family to another not at all related to that family; of no little fiefs yielding homage at the same time to several great sovereigns, who are disputing with each other about the homage and the fief itself, as it frequently happens in Germany and in Italy. Hence it is that, excepting the invasions of conquerors, which are still more cruel in Asia than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels in regard to frontiers, especially betwixt the Turks and the Persians, Asia enjoys almost a perpetual peace.

Those

Those who examine closely into the great events of this sublunary world, observe that there have been forty severe wars in Europe since 1600; and that there has been only one war of any consequence in Great Tartary, in China, and in the Indies, countries of far greater extent, more populous, and richer than Europe: in fine, there has been no war at all either in Asia, Africa, or America, concerning commerce, which has not been excited by European nations.

The marriage of Maximilian I. afterwards emperor of Germany, to Mary of Burgundy, had been during three centuries, a bone of contention between the house of France and that of Austria. The American and Asiatic commerce proved afterwards a new subject of discord in Europe: and it was the great quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. that first gave rise to the system of equilibrium, which in our days has been the cause of so many wars and confederacies. Henry VIII. king of England, finding himself situated between those two powerful rivals, wanted to hinder either of them from oppressing the other; he took for his device an archer holding his bow stretched, with these words; *He whom I defend shall be master*: but if this prince held the balance, he held it with a very unsteady hand.

Queen Elizabeth constantly assisted Henry IV. who was oppressed by the house of Austria; and the united provinces were indebted for their liberty to the protection of Elizabeth and to this very Henry IV. England and Holland continued to be allies of France, so long as the house of Austria continued to be formidable to those powers. Though the knot which joined them might have been sometimes slackened, it was never entirely broke; for they were too sensible of their real interests.

The protestant princes of Germany were likewise the natural allies of France, because, ever since the reign of Charles V. they were afraid of the house of Austria's growing too mighty, so as to endanger the liberty of the empire. The Swedes were therefore invited into Germany by those protestant princes, by France, and even by Rome herself, who dreaded the authority of the emperors, which had been long disputed, but still prevailed, in Italy. Then it was that England and Holland with pleasure beheld, towards the middle of the last century, the imperial branch of Austria reduced to the necessity of yielding Lusatia to the elector of Saxony, and the prefecture of Alsace to France; at the same time that Lewis XIII. stripped the Spanish branch of the province of Roussillon.

Cromwell,

Cromwell, the usurper of England, did not act counter to this system; and though he had murdered the brother in law of Lewis XIII. and the uncle of Lewis XIV. still he continued to be closely united to France. The wishes of all nations seemed to be generally in her favour against the Austrians, till the time when Lewis XIV. began to be formidable by his conquests, by the choice he made of the greatest generals and ablest ministers, and, in fine, by the weakness of his enemies. In 1667 he made himself master of one half of Flanders, and the year following he had taken Franche Comté from the house of Austria: then the Dutch, a people who had suddenly raised themselves by their courage in war, and by their industry in peace, ceased to be apprehensive of the Austrians their ancient masters, and turned their jealousies against the French their ancient protectors. Their negotiations obliged Lewis XIV. to conclude the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, a success of which they greatly boasted.

This was the origin of that famous irruption which this monarch made into Holland in the year 1672. He easily made Charles II, king of England, chime in with his views, knowing he wanted money, and that he had some reason to complain of the seven provinces. Lewis chose rather to punish Holland than to conquer Flanders, a

country to which he had some claims, and of which he would perhaps have kept possession: but not long after the Dutch and the English entered into an alliance, and from that time forwards they have obstinately opposed the interests of France. The glory and power of Lewis XIV. increased; and this increased the number of his enemies.

That very system of equilibrium, which had been so long pursued against the Austrians, was now turned against the French. William, stadtholder of the United Provinces and king of England, was from the year 1689 the soul of a party which united Spain, Germany, England, Holland, Savoy, and even pope Innocent XI. against Lewis XIV. Yet Lewis stood his ground against so many enemies. For a long time he maintained an army of very near 400,000 men, and above one hundred ships of the line; though upon his accession to the crown he had not above six ships of war. And notwithstanding his navy met with such a violent shock at La Hogue, and the India company, erected by the great Colbert, had been reduced to nothing, yet he concluded a peace at Ryswick, which was neither inglorious nor unprofitable. That very system of general equilibrium, composed of so many private views, produced this peace,
and

and gave birth to a kind of policy hitherto unknown to Europe.

The last prince of the Austrian branch upon the throne of Spain, was in a declining state of health, and had no children. This induced the courts of London and of the Hague to conclude a treaty with Lewis XIV. whom they did not love, whereby they disposed of the dominions of Spain in conjunction with that prince. They divided them among several princes, giving part of the spoil to Lewis XIV. lest this prince should grasp at the whole inheritance. Charles II. king of Spain, was so incensed at the insult offered to his weakness, in making a partition of his estate during his life time, that he named the son of the elector of Bavaria heir to all his dominions. This young prince was the great grandson of Philip III. The choice appeared just and prudent; the house of Austria might grumble, but could not help herself; the inevitable disputes which would have attended a partition were prevented by this means, and the equilibrium of Europe was preserved; but the prince of Bavaria died three months after he had been declared successor to the crown of Spain.

Then another treaty of partition was proposed, whereby, among other conventions, they gave the dutchy of Milan to the house of Lorrain, and the dutchy of Lorrain to

the king of France; a project which has since been partly executed. Upon this the king of Spain, seeing himself so near his end, tho' in the flower of life, was disposed to leave all his kingdoms to his wife's nephew, Charles the archduke, second son of the emperor Leopold: but he durst not think of leaving them to the eldest brother, from the strong notion he entertained of a balance of power, and from a persuasion that the apprehension of seeing Spain, the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, all subject to one prince, would be a means of arming the rest of Europe. He wanted the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid at the head of ten thousand men; but neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would at that time have suffered it: they were all for a treaty of partition. The emperor did not chuse to send his son by himself into Spain, nor was he able to force a way for ten thousand men into that kingdom. The same thing happened, in an affair of the greatest importance betwixt two great princes, as every day happens to private people in trifling matters; they debated till high words arose, and then they quarrelled. The Spanish pride was offended at the German stiffness; the countess of Perlitz, who had a great ascendant over the queen of Spain, instead of conciliating the
minds

minds of the Spaniards to the German interest, alienated them from it; and the court of Vienna offended them a great deal more by their haughty manner of proceeding.

The young archduke was accustomed to call the Spaniards by an abusive name; but he learnt to his cost with what circumspection princes ought to weigh their words. The bishop of Lerida, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, being dissatisfied with the Germans, generally took care to make matters worse, by aggravating those expressions to the court of Spain; while he himself said much more injurious things against the Austrian council than the archduke had ever uttered against the Spaniards. *Leopold's ministers*, said he, in one of his letters, *have their minds formed just like the horns of the bulls in my country, small, hard, and crooked.* This letter being made public, the bishop of Lerida was recalled; but at his return to Madrid he only increased the aversion which the Spaniards had already conceived against the Austrians.

A number of trifling incidents, with which the most important affairs are generally interwoven, contributed to the great change which happened in Europe, and paved the way for that revolution, by which the house of Austria was for ever deprived of Spain and the Indies. Cardinal Portocarero,
and

and the rest of the Spanish grandees who had most credit at court, desirous of preventing the partition of the Spanish monarchy, all joined in persuading Charles II. to prefer a grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince who was at a great distance from Spain, and at the same time unable to defend it. This was not annulling the solemn renunciations which the mother and the wife of Lewis XIV. had made of the crown of Spain ; because these had been made merely with an intent to hinder the eldest of their descendants from ever enjoying the sovereignty of the two kingdoms : but in the present case the eldest was not pitched upon ; while at the same time it was doing justice to the rights of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy intire and undivided.

Charles being a scrupulous prince, consulted the ablest divines, who were of the same opinion as his council. In short, infirm as he was, he wrote with his own hand to pope Innocent XII. and proposed the case himself : the pope imagining that the weakening of the house of Austria would strengthen the liberty of Italy, wrote in answer to the king, that the laws of Spain, and the general good of Christendom, required he should give the preference to the house of France. The pope's letter was dated the 16th of July 1700 ; he wisely treated this case of conscience as a state affair, while the
king

king of Spain, who with very good reason was desirous of having justice on his side, treated this mighty matter of state as a case of conscience.

Lewis XIV. was informed of this step, and this was the whole share which the court of Versailles had in this memorable event : there was not even so much as a French ambassador at that time at Madrid ; for marshal Harcourt had been recalled six months before from that court, where his presence was become disagreeable by the treaty of partition, which France seemed ready to maintain by force of arms. In vain did all Europe imagine that the will of Charles II. had been dictated at Versailles. The dying prince only consulted the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes of his subjects. So secret was this testament, which changed the face of Europe, that count Harrach, the imperial ambassador, still flattered himself that the succession was settled on the archduke, and he waited a great while for the issue of the great council, which was immediately held after the king's decease.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms. The ambassador no longer doubted but the archduke was declared king from that very instant, when the duke d'Abrantes expressed himself in these words, as he embraced him, *I come from taking my leave of the house of Austria.* Thus the house
of

of France after two hundred years spent in war, and in negotiations about a few frontier provinces of the Spanish dominions, acquired by the stroke of a pen the intire monarchy without treaty or intrigue, or even without having had any hopes of this succession. We thought ourselves obliged to publish the naked truth, in regard to a fact which has been hitherto darkened by such a number of ministers and historians, whom prejudices or appearances have seduced. All that has been handed about in so many volumes, in regard to marshal d'Harcourt's giving away such sums of money, and the bribing of the Spanish ministers to come at this will, deserves to be ranked among the number of political lies, and popular errors. The minister who had the department of foreign affairs at that time in France, has given an authentic testimonial of this truth, in a piece written with his own hand. The king of Spain, however, at the same time that he bequeathed the succession of his dominions to the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had his thoughts fixed on the consequences which might follow from the idea of a general equilibrium. The duke of Anjou, grandson of Lewis XIV. was called to the succession of the crown of Spain, because he was not to expect that of France; and the same testament which, in default of the princes descended from Lewis XIV. gave the crown

to the archduke Charles, who was afterwards emperor, mentioned in express terms that the empire and Spain should never be reunited under the same sovereign.

The Austrian branch which sat on the imperial throne, finding itself deprived of the Spanish Succession, and only substituted in default of issue of the duke of Anjou, excited almost every power in Europe against the house of Bourbon. This same Leopold, who was neither able nor willing to send ten thousand men into Spain to secure the crown for his son the archduke, soon brought an hundred thousand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of Spain, entered some time after into an alliance against his sons-in-law.

England and Holland having declared in favour of the archduke, bore the greatest part of the burthen of the whole war, till at length the equilibrium which had been the motive of such furious dissensions, served as a pretext for a peace. The case foreseen by Charles II. king of Spain came to pass: the archduke, on whom the Spanish monarchy was intailed, and for whom they were carrying on this bloody war, was become emperor in 1711, by the death of his eldest brother Joseph. The tories in England, who opposed the whig ministry, embraced this opportunity to determine the queen not to waste
any

any longer the blood and treasure of the English, only in order to make the new emperor Charles VI. far more powerful than ever Charles V. had been, and to act contrary to the very intention and real interest of England, as well as of the rest of Europe, who had been apprehensive of seeing the imperial and Spanish crowns on the same head. But what contributed the most to the great work of peace, was an incident from which no one could ever have expected a consequence of such importance.

As the haughtiness of a German lady had been one of the chief causes of the testamentary disposition of Charles II. so the indecent behaviour of an English lady to queen Anne gave peace to Europe. The queen being offended with the duchess of *Marlborough*, began to lose all patience; an incident which the Tories improved to their advantage. The queen changed her ministers and maxims; and England, which had been the inveterate enemy of France, concluded a separate peace: soon after this step, the lucky victory, which marshal Villars obtained at Denain, in the neighbourhood of Landrecy, determined the Dutch, and the emperor Charles VI. to conclude a general peace.

Lewis XIV. after ten years reverse of fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to the distressed condition of consenting to abandon

abandon his grandson the king of Spain, and having had the mortification of not being listened to, unless he joined the allies himself against his own blood, at length enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his grandson firmly settled on the throne of Spain.

But notwithstanding this monarchy had been given to Philip, only to prevent its being dismembered, yet they were obliged to divide it. The emperor, by the treaty of Rastadt and Baden, made in 1714, kept the Austrian Netherlands, together with the dukedom of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples, in spite of that ancient law which determines that this kingdom shall be always incompatible with the empire. Charles V. had submitted to that law when he received the investiture of the kingdom of Naples of the pope, before he had been possessed of the imperial crown; but this mighty vassal found no great difficulty in obliging such a weak sovereign as the pope to release him from his oath; and Charles VI. met with the same complaisance from the court of Rome as Charles V.

Sicily, another member of the Spanish monarchy, was then given to the duke of Savoy, who had afterwards Sardinia in exchange. The isle of Minorca and Gibraltar, which had been taken by the English, were ceded to that nation. The king of Prussia gained Upper Guelderland. The Dutch

Dutch had a barrier composed of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ipres, Dendermond, &c. At the same time that the emperor left the care of defending those places to the Dutch, he constantly paid them two millions five hundred thousand livres a year; a convention almost unparalleled in history, to give his money and his strong towns to his allies, instead of having them garrisoned by his own troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father of him who was afterwards emperor by the name of Charles VII. and his brother the elector of Cologne, were restored to their territories, and to those rights of which they had been stripped for having sided with France, and for being unfortunate. The emperor Joseph had put them under the ban of the empire, by his own single authority, without the consent of the three colleges.

Thus all the belligerent powers reaped considerable advantages from this peace, the chief of which, tho' not sufficiently regarded, was the preservation of the human species. Such a bloody war, in which there were at least six hundred thousand combatants on one side and the other, in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders, must have destroyed about a hundred thousand men every year. And it is beyond all doubt, that the south of Europe had in ten years lost above a million of men in the flower of life.

Every

Each nation repaired its losses during the twenty years which followed the peace of Utrecht; happy years, whose felicity met with very little interruption. England increased her trade by the surrender which France made to her of Newfoundland and Acadia, by the Assiento treaty, which put her in possession of the Negro trade with Spanish America, and in fine by the permission which she extorted from Spain, of sending every year a ship to Portobello, which became the staple of an immense counterband commerce.

France had only three hundred merchant ships at the time of the treaty of Utrecht; but was mistress of above eighteen hundred in 1740. Her commerce and her manufactures were in a flourishing condition. Out of the wreck of a destructive scheme, which in 1719 ruined one part of the nation, and enriched the other, a new East India company arose, which in 1725 was possessed of a stock of one hundred millions of livres lent to the state, and of thirty nine millions in ships, storehouses, and valuable commodities. This company rebuilt and enlarged the city of Pondicherry in the East-Indies, which at present contains one hundred thousand inhabitants, is regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon: they cleared Port l'Orient in Brittany, and of a village made it a trading town: they had

had sixty ships from four hundred to eight hundred tons : In fine, during the space of twenty eight years, their commerce had been a nursery of seamen, and a constant source of treasure and plenty ; for while all the stock proprietors received a considerable interest from the farm of tobacco, the whole profits of the company were employed in making new settlements : they could be charged with nothing but superfluous expences, which indeed are a mark of riches. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions of livres, and moreover enriched the nation by the commodities which were transported from one hemisphere to the other : in some of these colonies the number of inhabitants had been doubled since the year 1712.

Almost all the towns in France were improved in the elegance of their buildings ; the kingdom was visibly grown more populous, and during this long space of time had met with no shock of foreign wars. The rupture between the duke of Orleans, regent of France, and the king of Spain in 1718, was neither long nor unfortunate ; it was not between nation and nation, but between the two princes ; the people hardly minded it at Paris, where their thoughts were all employed about the great game of stocks, which made, and which ruined, such a number of men's fortunes.

The

The design of Spain was to recover those provinces which had been wrested from that monarchy ; but it was not then a time to make the attempt. In vain did the Spanish troops make a descent upon Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor; and afterwards upon Sicily, possessed by the duke of Savoy in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. The consequence of these armaments was, that the emperor Charles VI. by the help of a British fleet, and even aided by the regent of France, took Sicily to himself: this island had been ceded by the treaty of Utrecht to the house of Savoy, whose princes, after a reign of four years in Sicily, were made kings of Sardinia, which they still possess.

Never were there so many negotiations as at that time ; never more treaties, nor more jealousies of each other: the interests of each nation seemed to change with that of individuals. The English government, closely connected with that ministry, which in the reign of Lewis XIV. had done every thing to settle Philip V. on the throne, was become his enemy: affairs went out of their natural channel to such a degree, that the court of Madrid flung herself into the arms of her rival and enemy the court of Vienna, which after having so long contended with her for the Spanish monarchy, remained mistress of Naples, and had lately driven her out of the island of Sicily.

In

In short, this same emperor Charles VI. whose sole intention had been always to prevent the new house of Spain from having any admittance into Italy, was at length so far prevailed upon, contrary to his own opinion, as to consent that a son of Philip V. and of his second wife, Elizabeth of Parma, should be introduced with six thousand Spaniards into the dutchy of Parma and Placentia, tho' the succession was not as yet open. He gave the eventual investiture of this country, as also of the great dukedom of Tuscany, to don Carlos, in 1725, by a solemn treaty, which had been upon the carpet long before that time, and he received two hundred thousand Spanish pistoles, the price of an engagement for which he was one day to pay so dear. In this convention every thing was odd and surprising: it was two rival families that united, without trusting to each other: it was the English who had used their utmost endeavours to dethrone Philip V, and had stripped him of Minorca and Gibraltar, which they still continued to possess in spite of Spain, that were the mediators of the treaty: it was Riperda, a Dutchman, now grown all-powerful in Spain, who signed it, and who after having signed it, was disgraced.

Whilst the Spanish branch of Bourbon thus acquired dominions by a transient conjunction with her enemy; there was a misunderstanding

understanding between her and the French branch, in spite of all the ties of blood and interest, by which they should have been naturally united: thus it was that the two branches of Austria had been formerly divided. France at that time having joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 every thing began to return into its natural channel: the French ministry strengthened the bonds of amity betwixt the two houses of France; and this ministry appearing honest and disinterested, became insensibly the mediators of Europe.

England and Spain went to open war, for a point of commerce. The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, and wasted their time and forces before that town, which the English had rendered impregnable. France offered her mediation *, and saved the honour of the Spaniards; at the same time a stop was put to the siege, and the jarring interests were reconciled by treaties.

† The emperor wanted to elude the promise he had made of giving Tuscany, Parma and Placentia to don Carlos: but the French ministry engaged him to keep his word. The same ministry prevailed very artfully on the English, tho' the avowed enemies of the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, to transport the six thousand Spaniards into Italy, which were to secure to don Carlos the pos-

* 1728.

† 1729.

session of his new dominions ; and accordingly this prince was conveyed thither some time afterwards, together with his troops, by an English fleet : he was acknowledged sovereign of Parma in 1731, and heir to the dukedom of Tuscany. The grand duke, who was the last prince of the house of Medicis, accepted of the heir who had been nominated to his dominions without asking his consent.

The French ministry had some time before prevailed on the emperor, in compliance with the interest of all the trading nations, of which France was not at that time the least considerable, to suppress the East India company which he had erected at Ostend : thus this crown enjoyed the tranquil glory of being the mediator of all its neighbours, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, changed the face of Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, who was then near fourscore, thought only of continuing that happy peace to France and to Europe. His inclination, his character, his age, his moderation in which he placed all his glory, all together rendered him extremely averse to a war. Walpole, the English minister, was of the same disposition : Spain had obtained all that she had demanded : the north was in a profound tranquillity ; when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, involved Europe again in those calamities from which it
is

is seldom exempt for the space of ten years without interruption.

King Stanislaus, the father in law of Lewis XV. who had been already named king of Poland in 1704. was elected king in the most legitimate and the most solemn manner : but the emperor Charles VI. made them proceed to another election, which was supported by that prince's arms and by those of Russia. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and nephew of Charles VI. carried it against his competitor ; and the house of Austria, which had not been able to keep possession of Spain and the West Indies, had power sufficient to wrest Poland from the father in law of Lewis XV. France then beheld such another case renewed as that which had happened to Armand prince of Conty, who, though legally chosen, yet, being unprovided with money and troops, and more recommended than supported, lost the kingdom to which the people had called him. King Stanislaus went to Dantzick to support his election ; but the majority, by whom he had been chosen, soon gave way to the minority that opposed him. This country where the common people are slaves, where the nobility sell their votes, where the public treasury has never any money sufficient to maintain an army, where the laws are without vigour, and where liberty is productive only of divisions ; I say, this country vainly boasted of

a numerous nobility, who are able to bring one hundred thousand horse into the field. Ten thousand Russians dispersed Stanislaus's whole party. The Poles, who a century before used to look upon the Russians with contempt, were at that time over-awed and directed by that nation. The empire of Russia was become formidable since it had been new modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand Russian slaves, by being disciplined to arms, dispersed the whole body of the Polish nobility; and king Stanislaus was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Dantzick, where he was soon besieged by a Russian army of upwards of forty thousand men. The emperor of Germany in conjunction with Russia, was sure of success. To hold the ballance even, France must have transported a numerous army by sea; but England would not have looked on such an immense armament with indifference. Cardinal Fleury, who was willing to keep terms with England, neither chose to have the disgrace of intirely abandoning Stanislaus, nor to risk too great a number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a squadron with only fifteen hundred men commanded by a brigadier. This officer, not imagining it to be a serious commission, when he came near to Dantzick, thought he should sacrifice the lives of his men to no manner of use, and therefore put back into Denmark. Count de Plelo, ambassador

bassador from France to the king of Denmark, with indignation beheld this retreat, which seemed so dishonourable to the nation. The count tho' but a young man, was a polite scholar and a philosopher, and had a soul actuated by heroic sentiments, worthy of a better fortune : he resolved to succour Dantzick with this small body of men against a whole army, or to perish in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to count Maurepas, minister of state, which he concluded with these words ; *I am certain I shall never return, therefore I recommend my wife and children to your care.* He came before Dantzick, where he landed his men, and attacked the Russian army : As he had foretold, he was slain, and the few soldiers under his command, that escaped the sword, were made prisoners of war. His letter, which was extremely moving, came together with the news of his death, and drew tears from the whole council : he was lamented and admired by all Paris. I remember that when his widow appeared some time after in the public walks with her children, the crowd surrounded her with acclamations of affection, expressing the veneration they had for her husband's memory.

Dantzick was taken : on which occasion the French ambassador, who was then in that town, was made prisoner of war, notwithstanding the privileges of his character. King Stanislaus made his escape through the

enemy in a disguised habit, after he had seen a price set upon his head by the Russian general, in a free kingdom, in his own country, and in the midst of the nation by whom he had been lawfully elected.

The French ministry would have forfeited their reputation, a thing so necessary for the support of grandeur, if they had not taken satisfaction for so gross an affront; but this satisfaction would have signified nothing, unless it was attended with some benefit to the nation. The Muscovites were too far off, to call them to an account, so that it was the business of the French ministry to wreak their vengeance against the emperor, which they effectually did in Germany and in Italy. France joined with Spain and Sardinia; and these three powers had their different interests, which all concurred to the same end of weakening the house of Austria. The dukes of Savoy had for a long time increased their dominions by degrees; sometimes by selling their succours to the emperors, and at other times by declaring against them. King Charles Emmanuel was in hopes of getting the Milanese; and it was promised him by the ministers of Versailles and of Madrid: Philip V. king of Spain, or rather his queen Elizabeth of Parma, expected a more considerable settlement for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no other view than his own glory, the humiliation

tion of his enemies, and the success of his allies ; nobody saw at that time that Lorrain was to be the fruit of the war : mankind are generally led by events, of which they have seldom the direction. Never was there a treaty more expeditiously concluded than that which united those three monarchs. England and Holland, powers long accustomed to declare for Austria against France, forsook her upon this occasion. This was the effect of the reputation which the French court had acquired, of equity and moderation. The opinion of her pacific and disinterested views, kept her natural enemies quiet, even while she was at war. And indeed nothing could do a greater honour at that time to cardinal Fleury, than his attaining to such a degree of credit, as to persuade those powers that France might wage war against the emperor, without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the other powers looked with unconcern at the rapid success of the French arms : they were masters of the field upon the Rhine ; and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, overran Italy, where marshal Villars finished his career at the age of 84, after he had taken Milan. His successor, marshal Coigni, gained two battles, while the Spanish general, the duke of Montemart, obtained a victory at Bitonto, in the kingdom of Naples, from whence he took a new surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuscany,

cany, was soon made king of Naples and Sicily. Thus the emperor lost almost every foot he had in Italy, by busying himself in giving a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain acquired in two campaigns the two Sicilies, kingdoms so often taken and retaken; kingdoms which the house of Austria, for more than two centuries, had made constantly the object of her pretensions.

This war in Italy is the only one that concluded with any solid success to the French nation since Charlemagne. The reason is, they acted in conjunction with the guardian of the Alps, who was become the most powerful prince in that country; they were assisted by the best troops belonging to the crown of Spain; and their armies were always plentifully supplied with provisions.

The emperor was then glad to receive such conditions of peace as the conqueror was pleased to grant. Cardinal Fleury had not only the address to hinder England and Holland from taking part in this war, but likewise to conclude an advantageous peace without their mediation.

Europe was accustomed to see kingdoms given away and exchanged. By this peace don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. To Francis duke of Lorrain, the emperor's intended son-in-law, they assigned the succession of the house of Medicis, which before had been granted to
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don Carlos. The last grand duke of Tuscany, being near his end, asked, *Whether they would not give him a third heir, and whether the empire and France did not want to make a new child for him?* Not that the great dukedom of Tuscany considered itself as an imperial fief, but the emperor looked upon it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy see, and whose last duke had yielded homage to the pope; thus the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to don Carlos, son of Philip V. and of a princess of Parma, were yielded in full property to the emperor Charles V.

The king of Sardinia, who had fixed his eye on the Milanese, to which his family that had gradually raised itself, had some old pretensions, obtained only a small part of it, namely, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langhes. His claim to the Milanese was derived from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was descended: France had also her ancient pretensions derived from Lewis XII. The natural heir of this dukedom: Philip V. had likewise his claims founded on the infeoffments renewed to four of his predecessors, kings of Spain; but all these pretensions were superseded by the public utility. The emperor kept possession of the Milanese, not-

standing the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which requires that the emperor, as lord paramount, shall always grant the investiture of them; otherwise he might in the end swallow up all the feudal dependencies belonging to his crown.

By this treaty, king Stanislaus renounced the kingdom to which he had been twice elected, without being able to keep it. They left him indeed the title of king; but he wanted a more solid indemnity; an indemnity of greater advantage to France than to himself. Cardinal Fleury seemed satisfied at first with the duchy of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine had yielded to Stanislaus, with the reversion to the crown of France. But Lorraine itself was not to be ceded till the duke was put into full possession of Tuscany. This was making the cession of Lorraine to depend upon a great many casualties, and profiting very little by the most signal success, and the most favourable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to avail himself of his present advantages, which induced him to demand Lorraine on the same conditions as the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it. All it cost him was some ready money, and a pension of four millions five hundred thousand livres to duke Francis, till Tuscany devolved to him. Thus the reunion of Lorraine to the French monarchy, a reunion so often attempted in vain, was irrevocably completed. By this means a Polish king
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was transplanted to Lorrain; the reigning family of the princes of Lorrain to Tuscany; and the second son of the king of Spain to Naples; so that the French ministry might have renewed Trajan's medal, *Regna assignata, Kingdoms disposed of*.

The emperor Charles VI. fancied himself a great gainer by this treaty. Ever since the year 1713, he had endeavoured to engage the different states of the empire, with the neighbouring princes, to guarantee the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter Mary Teresa, whom he afterwards married to the duke of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany, in 1736. His hopes were, that a son by his eldest daughter would rescue his family from extinction, and preserving the patrimony of the house of Austria, might continue the imperial crown to his posterity. With this expectation he had contributed to place the elector of Saxony, who was married to one of his nieces, on the throne of Poland by force of arms, and had obtained of him the guarantee of that famous act of succession, called the *Caroline pragmatic sanction*. He had also the guarantee of England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and of the states of the empire: he even flattered himself that he should obtain of the elector of Bavaria an equivalent to a formal acceptance, upon marrying his niece, the second daughter of the emperor Joseph, to this elector. In

fine, he imagined he had secured every thing, when he obtained the guarantee of France ; but prince Eugene some time before he died, had told him, that he ought to have an army of two hundred thousand men, without troubling his head about any guarantee.

In the mean time he pressed the French ministry to secure by treaty the order established in the Austrian succession, and they agreed to do it. Upon which the elector of Bavaria, who thought he had a legitimate right to the succession of the Austrian dominions, in preference to the daughters of the emperor Charles VI. immediately implored the protection of France, who was at that time in possession of settling the contested rights of princes. The French ministry, so early as the year 1737. gave the emperor to understand, that by this guarantee they had no design to prejudice the claims of the house of Bavaria ; and they put the emperor in mind, that in the year 1732. when he prevailed on the states of the empire to sign this pragmatic settlement, he had expressly declared himself, that he did not intend to injure the rights of any third person. They desired him to do justice to the house of Bavaria, and for that time went no farther than making remonstrances. Those sparks which were soon to cause so general a combustion, lay concealed under the embers.

At this time a profound tranquillity reigned in all parts of christendom, if we except the disputes then arising betwixt England and Spain, about their American commerce. The French king was still considered as the arbitrator of the differences of Europe.

The emperor had engaged in a war against the Turks, without consulting the empire; this war proved unfortunate, but France saved him by her mediation. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at the Port, went to Hungary in 1739, to conclude a peace with the grand Vizir, of which the emperor stood greatly in need.

Much about the same time the French restored the tranquillity of Genoa, which city was menaced with a civil war; they likewise subdued and softened the Corsicans, who had thrown off the yoke of Genoa. The country of Corsica, which a long time since has taken the title of a kingdom, had submitted towards the end of the 13th century to the Genoese, whose country is less extensive, and less warlike, but more opulent than Corsica. The Corsicans, who had been always a stiff-necked people, were at that time in open rebellion, under pretence that their privileges had been trampled upon, and this rebellion had lasted since 1725. A German gentleman, of the county of Marck, named Theodore de Neuhauff, having travelled in search of adventures, happened

happened to be at Leghorn in 1736. There he opened a correspondence with the malecontents, and offered them his service. After they had settled their scheme, he embarked for Tunis, where he negotiated in their name : having obtained arms, ammunition, and money, with these supplies he landed in Corsica, and at length was proclaimed king of that island. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with laurel : he was acknowledged as sovereign in the greatest part of the island, where he continued to maintain the war. The senate of Genoa set a price upon Theodore's head ; but finding they could neither assassinate him, nor reduce the Corsicans, they had recourse to the emperor for his assistance. This appeared a dangerous step, because this prince, looking upon himself as lord paramount of all Italy, acted as supreme judge betwixt Genoa and the rebels. The senate at length applied to France, who sent successively into that island the count of Boissieux, and the marquis of Maillebois, afterwards marshal of France. Theodore was expelled, the island was reduced, at least for some time, and the public tranquillity restored.

While France thus extended her benevolence to Genoa and Corsica, she was at the same time interposing her good offices between Spain and England, who were just entering into a sea war against each other,
far

far more destructive than their respective claims were worth. The French court had even employed her mediation in 1735, betwixt Spain and Portugal; none of her neighbours had reason to complain of her; but on the contrary, all nations considered her as their mediatrix, and common mother.

CHAP. II.

Death of the emperor Charles VI. The succession disputed by four powers. The queen of Hungary proclaimed in all her father's dominions. Silesia invaded by the king of Prussia.

THE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October 1740, at the age of fifty five. It is of importance to princes, on whose life depends the repose of nations, not to be ignorant that this monarch killed himself by a surfeit *, at an entertainment, which by conducting him to his grave, brought the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of the King of Poland, Augustus II. could cause such commotions; that of Charles VI. the last prince of the house of Austria, must needs produce far other revolutions. In the first place, Italy expected to become inde-

* He died eating of mushrooms.

pendent,

pendent, a situation to which it had long aspired. A great many states, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, disclaimed this subjection. Rome especially, plundered by Charles V. severely treated by his successors, oppressed and fleeced by Joseph, brother of Charles VI. flattered herself with the hopes of being delivered from the pretensions of the German emperors, who, ever since Otho the first, have imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars. And indeed the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces dismembered from the empire; in their protocol they give the title of majesty to no king whatever. The elector of Cologne styles himself chancellor of Italy; and the elector of Triers takes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they chuse at Frankfort, is declared king of the Romans, tho' he has not the least jurisdiction in Rome, and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces sufficient to oblige them to pay it. Such a number of dubious and contested rights had been the source of all the calamities, and of the weakening of Italy, for the space of seven hundred years: it seemed therefore probable, that the confusion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would set the Italians at that full liberty which they had so long desired. The new revolution which every body foresaw would follow
from

from the extinction of the house of Austria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided betwixt several princes, all so potent, as to find it difficult to acknowledge a supreme head, or at least to leave that head possessed of the same authority his predecessors had enjoyed. It seemed therefore that the inheritance of the house of Austria could not possibly avoid being dismembered: this inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had been long elective, but were rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes: of Austrian Suabia, called Austria Anterior; of the upper and lower Austria, conquered in the 13th century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgaw, the four forest towns, the Brisgaw, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milanese, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, these two kingdoms were possessed by don Carlos.

Mary Teresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the law of nature, which called her to her paternal inheritance, on the pragmatic sanction by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of so many princes. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession in virtue of the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. By
this

this will Ferdinand had, in default of male-
issue, instituted his eldest daughter, the
archduchess Anne, heiress to his dominions:
this princess was married to the duke of Ba-
varia; from her the elector Charles was de-
scended; and there were no males left of
the house of Austria.

Rights of a more recent nature were al-
leged by Augustus III. king of Poland, and
elector of Saxony; these were the rights of
his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor
Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If
Mary Teresa looked upon the pragmatic
sanction as a sacred and inviolable law, the
archduchess, queen of Poland, had another
pragmatic sanction, settled previously in her
favour by the father of Joseph, and of Charles,
who had made a regulation in 1703,
that the daughters of Joseph should inherit
preferably to the daughters of the younger
brother Charles VI. in case the two brothers
came to die without male issue. After Charles
ascended the imperial throne, he abolish-
ed this sanction; therefore they might set
his aside after his death. His brother's
daughters had been in his power, nor did
he marry them till he made them renounce
their rights; now a renunciation of that
kind might be considered as involuntary,
and consequently null and void. On every
side they pleaded rights of blood, testamen-
tary dispositions, family compacts, the laws
of Germany, and the law of nations.

The

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to the whole succession of the house of Austria, by ascending to the wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. a princess from whom Philip V. was descended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to see the house of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. Lewis XV. might pretend to this succession, by as just a title as any other prince, since he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and likewise by the wife of Lewis XIV. But it was his business to act rather as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this succession, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas had he entered the lists as a pretender, he would have had all Europe against him. This cause of so many crowned heads, was pleaded by public memoirs, in every part of the Christian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private person, that did not interest himself in the dispute, and nothing less was apprehended than a general war. But how greatly was human policy confounded, when the storm arose from a quarter where nobody at all expected it!

In

In the beginning of this century the emperor Leopold availing himself of the right which the German emperors had constantly attributed to themselves of creating kings, erected ducal Prussia into a kingdom in 1701, in favour of Frederick-William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Prussia was only a large desert: but Frederick-William II, its second king, pursued a plan of politics different from most of the princes of his time; for he spent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were encumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he sent for families to Suabia and Franconia; he brought above sixteen thousand men from Saltzburg, and furnished them with all necessary implements of labour. In this manner, by forming a new state, and by extraordinary œconomy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he laid up constantly about sixty thousand German crowns, which in a reign of twenty eight years amounted to an immense treasure. What he did not put into his coffers he spent in raising and maintaining an army of fourscore thousand chosen men, whom he taught a new kind of discipline, tho' he did not employ them in the field. But his son Frederick III. made a proper use of his father's preparatives. Every body knew that this young prince, having been in disgrace in his father's reign, had employed his leisure

sure hours in the culture of his mind, and in improving those extraordinary talents which he had received of nature. Those talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private subject, the public saw and admired; but they did not perceive his political, nor his military abilities; so that the house of Austria entertained no more distrust of him, than of the late king of Prussia. He came to the crown three months before the succession of the house of Austria, and of the empire was open; he foresaw the general confusion; and upon the emperor's decease he did not lose a moment, but marched his army directly into Silesia, one of the richest provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. possessed in Germany. His pretensions were to four duchies, which his family had formerly acquired by purchases, and by acts of confraternity. His ancestors had renounced all their pretensions by repeated acts, because they were not in a condition to make them good; but as the present king had power in his hands, he was resolved to maintain his rights.

By this time France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, were all busying themselves about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria solicited France to procure him at least a share of the Austrian succession. He laid claim indeed to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he durst not demand the whole by his ministers. Mary Teresa,

Teresa, however, the great duke of Tuscany's spouse, took possession immediately of all the dominions which had been left her by her father. The homages of the states of Austria she received at Vienna the 7th of November 1740; while Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy, swore allegiance by their deputies. But she particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians, by condescending to take the ancient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in 1222. *If I or any of my successors shall, at any time whatever, violate your privileges, be it permitted, in virtue of this promise, both to you and your descendants, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels.*

The greater the aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess queen had always shewn to the performance of such engagements, the more this prudent step endeared the queen to the Hungarians. This people, who had so often attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, embraced that of Mary Teresa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in seditions, quarrels, and civil wars, they suddenly began to adore their sovereign. The queen was not crowned till some months after, viz. the 24th of June 1741, yet her authority was not the less complete: she had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular

popular affability, which her ancestors had seldom practised; and she had banished that ceremonious and fastidious air, which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them the least respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, never admitted any body to her table: Mary Teresa dined with all the ladies and officers of distinction; the deputies of the states accosted her freely; she never refused audience, nor suffered any body to depart discontented from her presence.

Her first care was to secure to the grand duke her husband a partnership of her crowns, under the name of *co-regent*, without diminishing her sovereignty, or violating the pragmatic sanction. She mentioned it to the states of Austria the very day she received their oath, and soon after she compassed her design. This princess flattered herself in these beginnings, that the dignities with which she adorned the prince her husband, would have paved the way for the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished, and dispersed in different parts of her vast dominions.

The king of Prussia proposed to her at first that she should yield the lower Silesia to him, and he offered his whole credit, his assistance, his arms, with five millions of French livres, to guarantee the remainder of her dominions, and to settle the imperial

perial crown upon her husband. Ministers of the greatest experience foresaw, that if the queen of Hungary refused such offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion; but the blood of so many emperors, which flowed thro' the veins of this princess, would not suffer her even to think of dismembering her patrimony: she was impotent, and yet intrepid. Numbers of Austrians, who saw only the outward grandeur, but not the weakness of the court of Vienna, publicly declared that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire in six months. Even the ministers of this prince were frightened at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the state in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Silesia, in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his standards, *Pro Deo & patria*. But he struck out *pro Deo*, saying, that it was not right thus to mix the name of God with the quarrels of men, and that his dispute was about a province, and not concerning religion. Before his regiment of guards he ordered the Roman eagle to be displayed in relief, on the top of a gilded staff, a step which laid him under the necessity of being invincible. He harangued his army, in order

der in every respect to resemble the ancient Romans. Entering Silesia, he made himself master of almost the whole province, of which they had refused him a part; but nothing as yet was decided. Marshal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty four thousand Austrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under a necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiss. Then it was that the Prussian infantry shewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than the Austrian, was entirely broke; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be lost; all the king's baggage was pillaged; and this prince, in danger of being taken, was carried away by the crowd that surrounded him: but his second line of infantry set every thing again to rights, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed; by their incessant fire, which is repeated at least five times in a minute; and by fixing their bayonets to their muskets in a moment. They gained the victory; and this event became the signal of a general conflagration.

CHAP. III.

The king of France joins with the kings of Prussia and Poland, to raise Charles Albert the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne.

ALL Europe imagined that the king of Prussia had acted in concert with France, when he first entered Silesia; but they were mistaken, as we generally are, when we reason only from probabilities. The king of Prussia ran a very great risk, as he himself confessed; but he foresaw that France would not miss so fine an opportunity of supporting him: it was visibly her interest to act against Austria, in favour of her ancient ally the elector of Bavaria, whose father had been stripped of all his dominions for his alliance with France. After the battle of Hockstet, this very elector, Charles Albert, was made prisoner in his infancy by the Austrians, who had divested him even of his name of Bavaria; and France might find her advantage in revenging his cause. It seemed no difficult matter to obtain the imperial crown, and a part of the Austrian succession, for this prince: by this step the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the extinct family had affected over the other powers of Europe;

Europe; this was abolishing the old competition betwixt the Bourbonists and the Austrians, and doing more than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu had ever presumed to expect.

At the time that Frederick III. set out for Silesia, he was the first that foresaw this revolution, tho' the foundations of it were not yet laid. This is so true, that he had not concerted any measures with cardinal Fleury; that the marquiss de Beauveau, who was sent by the king of France to Berlin, in order to compliment the new monarch, could not tell, when he saw the first motions of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France, or Austria. King Frederick said to him, at his setting out upon this expedition; *I fancy I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will share between us.* This was the only overture of the negotiation which was yet at some distance. Cardinal Fleury was at that time in his eighty-fifth year, and unwilling to engage either his reputation, his old age, or his country in a new war. He was deterred moreover, by the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, which the court of Versailles had lately signed and sworn to: but on the other hand he might have been encouraged to it by the preceding treaties with the house of Bavaria. It is very certain that Paris and Versailles loudly demanded this war, which was afterwards so

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greatly

greatly condemned. I heard a person of very great distinction say these very words : *Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria ; and cardinal Fleury, if possible, will erect a new one.* These words, which were repeated to the minister, vexed him prodigiously ; nor did he give way till he could no longer resist those who were so eager for this expedition. Towards the end of December 1740, he charged the count of Belleisle to draw up a plan of the negotiations which were to be conducted in the empire, and of the war that was projected, in order to procure for Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, the imperial crown, and a part of the Austrian succession. The count demanded eight days, and at the expiration of this term he produced his scheme, of which he caused three copies to be drawn ; one for the cardinal, another for the deposit of foreign affairs, and a third he kept himself.

If there could be any depending on the designs of man, never was there a project that bid fairer for success : the count, who was afterwards marshal duke de Belleisle, demanded only that fifty thousand French should pass the Rhine, before the month of June, to march towards the Danube. In this army he insisted that there should be at least twenty thousand horse ; and, according to his custom, he entered into all the particulars of the march, and of the subsistence of the troops, in every page repeating,
that

that it would be better to do nothing at all than to act by halves. They had near six months to prepare for a revolution, which had been already begun by the king of Prussia in the middle of winter. Saxony seemed disposed to join with France and Prussia. The king of England, elector of Hanover, was to be forced to a neutrality by another army of forty thousand French, which should be ready to enter his German territories on the side of Westphalia, while the army under marshal Belleisle was to support Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologne at that time espoused the interests of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector Palatine, who was to obtain for his heirs a renunciation from the king of Prussia, of that prince's rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, thro' the protection of France, was more impatient than any body else to see the Bavarian elector on the imperial throne; in short every thing contributed to his election. The imperial crown alone would have been an inconsiderable thing; they were to help the elector of Bavaria to take Austrian Suabia and Bohemia. They were likewise to join Spain in putting don Philip, the son of Philip V. and son-in-law of Lewis XV. in possession of the Milanese and of Parma. In short they made a division of part of Europe in 1741, as they had done in 1736, and as England

and Holland, in conjunction with France, wanted to do before the death of Charles II. king of Spain.

Marshal Belleisle was sent to Frankfort, to the king of Prussia's camp, and to Dresden, in order to concert the vast projects, which, from the concurrence of so many princes, one would have imagined could not possibly fail. He agreed upon every point with the king of Prussia, who has given him this character, that he never saw a man more fit for the cabinet or for the field. From thence he went to Saxony, and prevailed in such a manner on the mind of the king of Poland, that this prince made his troops march, even before there was a treaty signed. Thus the marshal negotiated all over Germany; he was the very soul of the grand confederacy, which was to procure the empire and hereditary crowns, for a prince who was able to do nothing of himself. France at the same time gave money, allies, votes, and armies, to the elector of Bavaria, who had promised eight and twenty thousand of his troops, tho' with French money he had hardly twelve thousand. The king sent the army he had promised him; and by letters patent *, made the same prince his lieutenant-general, whom he was going to make emperor of Germany.

* These letters were not sealed till the 20th of August 1741.

The elector of Bavaria, strengthened by those succours, easily penetrated into Austria, while Mary Teresa was hardly able to make a stand against the king of Prussia *. He immediately made himself master of Passaw, an imperial city, subject to its bishop, and which separates the upper Austria from Bavaria; from thence he continued his march to Lintz †, the capital of upper Austria; parties made excursions to within three leagues of Vienna; the alarm was spread in this capital; they prepared in a hurry for a siege, destroying almost an intire suburb, and a palace, which was close to the fortifications. The Danube was covered with boats full of costly moveables, which they were carrying to places of safety. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were far at that time from holding the balance, which they always pretended to have in their hands. The states general were silenced at the sight of marshal Maillebois's army in Westphalia, and this same army had the same effect on the king of England, who was apprehensive for his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised an army of twenty five thousand men to assist Mary Teresa, but he was obliged to abandon her

* 31. July. † 15th August.

cause at the head of this very army which had been raised for her defence, and to sign a treaty of neutrality: his domestics made use of a passport of the general of the French army for part of his equipage, which he sent back to London, and whither he returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland. At that time there was not a single power, either within or without the empire, that supported this pragmatic sanction, which so many princes had guaranteed. Vienna, on the side threatened by the enemy, was very weak, and not likely to hold out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and with public affairs, concluded, that as soon as Vienna was taken, the gate would be shut against the Hungarians, and of course all the rest of her dominions would be open to the victorious arms of the allies, all pretensions would be regulated, and peace restored to the empire and to Europe.

The more the ruin of this princess seemed inevitable, the more courage she exerted. In this distress she left Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, who had been so severely treated by her father, and by her ancestors. Having convened the four orders of the state at Presbourg, she appeared in the assembly, holding her eldest son in her arms, almost yet in his cradle, and addressing herself to them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself

herself extremely well, she spoke to them almost in these words. *Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no resource left but in your fidelity, your courage, and my constancy : I commit to your hands the daughter and the son of your kings, who expect of you their safety.* At this speech the Palatines were greatly moved, and, drawing their sabres, they all cried out : *Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia ; Let us die for our king Mary Teresa.* They always give the title of king to their queen, and never was there a princess more deserving of this title. They wept when they took the oath to defend her : she alone appeared unconcerned ; but as soon as she retired with her maids of honour, the tears ran plentifully down her cheeks. At that very time she was with child, and it was not long since she had wrote to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorrain, I know not whether I shall have a town left me to be brought to bed in.

Such was her distressed condition, and in this condition she moved the Hungarians to pity ; she excited England and Holland in her favour, so as to assist her with money ; she had agents in different parts of the empire ; she negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with troops.

The whole English nation were animated in her defence. The English are not a

people that wait for their prince's opinion to direct them: even private people proposed a free gift to the queen of Hungary. The duchess of Marlborough, the widow of that general who had fought for Charles VI. contrived a meeting of the principal ladies in London, who engaged to give the queen of Hungary an hundred thousand pounds, and the duchess laid forty thousand of it down. The queen had the noble spirit not to accept of this money which was so generously offered her, chusing only what she expected of the nation assembled in parliament. It was thought that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have laid siege to Vienna: one should always do what the enemy are apprehensive of, and this was the king of Prussia's opinion: but whether the season appeared too far advanced, or whether they wanted to establish an equilibrium of power, between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, by leaving Vienna and Hungary to one, and the remainder of the German possessions to the other, they did not lay siege to Vienna, but turned towards Bohemia.

The French army, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, marched towards Prague, and in the way were joined by twenty thousand Saxons, in the month of November 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, scaled the town. This general, who had the
same

same extraordinary strength of body as his father, with the same gentle disposition, and the same valour, was possessed of far superior abilities in the art of war. From his reputation he had been chosen duke of Courland, by the unanimous voice of the nation; but Russia having deprived him of the benefit of this election, he comforted himself for his loss in the service of France, and in the social pleasures of that nation, who were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

To form an idea of the character of count Saxe, whose name will be handed down to posterity, it is sufficient to mention, that being accused at that time, by some persons about the king of Prussia, of having entered into those little quarrels which commonly set the generals of allied armies at variance, he wrote to general Schmittau the following words: *Those who know me will allow, that I am much fitter to enter the lists with an enemy, than to spin an intrigue.*

They were now under a necessity of taking Prague in a few days, or of abandoning the enterprize. They wanted provisions, and the season was far advanced: and this great city, tho' but ill fortified, was still able to withstand their first attacks. General Ogilvi, a native of Ireland, who commanded in the town, had a garrison of three thousand men; the grand duke made what haste he could to his assistance with an army.

of thirty thousand, and was arrived within five leagues of Prague, the 25th of November: but that very night the French and Saxons stormed the town.

They made two attacks with a terrible fire of their artillery, which drew the whole garrison that way. In the mean time count Saxe silently applied a single ladder to a part of the town, very remote from the attack; the ladder was too short, so that they were obliged to lengthen it with hand-barrows. Monsieur de Chevert, at that time lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce, was the first that mounted; marshal Broglio's eldest son followed him; they got upon the rampart, and found, at some little distance, only a single centinel; the rest followed in crowds, and made themselves masters of the town. The garrison laid down their arms, and Ogilvi surrendered himself prisoner of war with his three thousand men. Count Saxe preserved the city from pillage; and what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pell mell together for three days, French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, without knowing one another, and without one drop of blood being spilt.

The elector of Bavaria, who was just come to the camp, gave the king an account of this success, as a general would write to a prince whose armies he commanded: he made his public entry into Prague the very day

day it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the grand duke, finding it impossible for his army to subsist in the neighbourhood of Prague, retired to the southern part of the province, and left to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain the command of the army.

During these transactions, the king of Prussia was making himself master of Moravia, a province situated betwixt Bohemia and Silesia; so that Mary Teresa seemed to be overpowered on all sides. Her competitor, who had been already crowned archduke at Lintz, and had taken the crown of Bohemia at Prague, was set out for Frankfort to receive the imperial crown under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had suspended the vote of Bohemia, while the queen of Hungary was in possession of that province, pretending that a woman had no right of suffrage. As the duke of Bavaria was master of Prague at the time of his election to the imperial dignity, he might have availed himself of the vote of Bohemia; but having no need of it, he suffered this vote to remain inactive.

Marshal Belleisle, who followed him from Prague to Frankfort, seemed rather one of the first electors than an ambassador of France. He had canvassed all the electors; and directed every negotiation; he received the honours due to the representative of a
king,

king, who gave away the imperial crown : the elector of Mentz, who presides at the election, gave him the right hand in his palace, while the ambassador, gave the right hand to the electors only, and took place of all the other princes. His full powers were delivered in the French tongue to the German chancery, which had hitherto required these instruments to be presented in Latin, as the language of a government which assumes the title of the Roman empire. Charles Albert was elected the 4th of January, in 1742, in the most peaceable, and the most solemn manner ; so that he then seemed to be at the highest pitch of felicity and glory : but fortune soon changed, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unhappy princes upon earth.

They now began to be sensible of the fault they had committed, in not having a sufficient body of cavalry. Marshal Belleisle was sick at Frankfort ; nor could he at the same time manage the negotiations, and command a distant army. A misunderstanding insensibly arose among the allied powers ; the Saxons complained of the Prussians ; the latter of the French ; and these of them all. The queen of Hungary maintained her cause by her constancy ; by money received from England, Holland, and Venice ; by loans in Flanders ; and especially by the desperate ardour of her troops, which she had at length assembled from all quarters.

quarters. The French armies were wasting away by fatigues, by sickness, and desertion, and found a difficulty in recruiting. It did not fare with them as with the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, who having begun his expedition in Germany with less than ten thousand men, soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand, increasing his troops in the enemy's country, in proportion to the progress of his arms. The French army, which should have been forty five thousand strong when it entered Bohemia, consisted only of thirty two thousand effective men when it set out from France; in this number there ought to have been twenty thousand horse, whereas there never were eight thousand. Thus every day the French diminished, and the Austrians increased. Prince Charles of Lorrain, the grand duke's brother, was in the heart of Bohemia, with thirty five thousand men. The country was intirely of his side, when he began a defensive war with success, by continually alarming the enemy, by cutting off their convoys, and by harrassing them on every side with clouds of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpashes. The Pandours are Slavonians inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save; they wear a long coat, with pistols stuck in their belt, a sabre, and a poniard. The Talpashes are an Hungarian infantry, armed with a fusil, two pistols, and a sabre. The Croats, whom the French

French call *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted on very small horses, that are light and indefatigable; they harass and destroy the troops dispersed in different parts, and not properly supported by cavalry; which was every where the case of the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector thought a small body of men sufficient to preserve a vast extent of country, which the queen of Hungary was not supposed to be in a condition of recovering. It is easy to condemn the operations of war when they prove unfortunate, but it is not so easy to foresee those misfortunes; however, marshal Bellisle had long forwarned the court of France in all his letters from Frankfort.

They have left troops behind them, said he, in the upper Austria, whose retreat will be infallibly cut off. He wrote to monsieur de Breteuil, at that time secretary of state in the department of war, the 17th of December 1741, in the following terms. *I cannot help dwelling on this important point: I can assure you that the misfortune I foresee will happen: the first source of our disasters must certainly arise from the mixture of nations, and from the dispersion of the troops.* The marshal was taken ill at Frankfort, towards the end of November; his first care was then to write to court, that they should by all means send a general to command the armies; in consequence

consequence of which, as early as the eighth of December, they gave orders to marshal Broglio, an old officer, bred under marshal Villars, and celebrated for some signal exploits, to set out from Strasburg. At his arrival in Bohemia, he found the victors embarrassed with their conquests, and the Austrians settled in all the different parts of the southern part of Bohemia; while upper Austria was guarded only by fifteen thousand Bavarians, and eight or nine thousand French. Count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna, appeared suddenly in those quarters with the garrisons of the towns left behind him, with the troops recalled from Italy, and with twenty thousand Hungarians. At that time count Segur, a lieutenant-general, was in Lintz, an open town, where the elector of Bavaria had left only about eight thousand men. Kevenhuller advanced with an army of thirty thousand, under the command of the grand duke: the only measure then to be taken was to retire; but the elector ordered count Segur to defend what was not tenable. The French barricaded themselves, and prepared to withstand even the most violent attacks, in hopes of some diversion being made by the troops of Bavaria; but the latter were beaten and dispersed, and instead of relieving Lintz, they lost Scharding.

The great duke came then in person before Lintz, and summoned the French to surrender

surrender themselves prisoners of war : upon their refusal, he made his troops advance, with fire-brands in their hands, and burnt part of his own town, for the sake of burying the French in its ruins. A deputation was undertaken by M. Duchatel, a lieutenant-general, who is lately dead with all the reputation that valour, sense, and probity can give. The great duke told him, that he insisted on their surrendering themselves prisoners of war. *Well,* said M. Duchatel, *you may begin again to burn the town, and we shall begin again to fire.* The prince grew more moderate ; and it was agreed at length that the French should march out with all military honours, and not serve for a whole year.

After this first success, the Hungarians rapidly advanced to Passaw, and rétook it. From thence they overspread Bavaria on the side of Austria while the Austrians entered this electorate on the side of Tyrol, and ravaged it from one end to the other. Scarce had a common partisan, whose name was Mentzel, a fellow known by his brutality and his depredations, made his appearance before Munich with his hussars, when the metropolis of Bavaria surrendered by capitulation. All these events followed close to one another, while at Frankfort they were preparing for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. To conclude the scene, the same day that he was chosen emperor, he

he heard that he had lost Lintz, and soon after that he had neither capital nor territories left.

C H A P. IV.

The misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. continued. The battle of Sabay. The French are deserted by the Prussians, and afterwards by the Saxons. The army under marshal Maillebois marches into Bohemia to no purpose. Marshal Bellisle saves the army shut up in Prague.

FORTUNE became as contrary to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia, as in upper Austria and Bavaria. His fate was so much the harder, as things bore a favourable aspect in Bohemia, and the good situation of his allies seemed to render them greatly superior, so as to be able to oblige the enemy to quit his dominions. For on the one side count Saxe had taken Egra, within five and twenty leagues of Prague, and thus Bohemia was held by the two extremities; and on the other the king of Prussia had gained a victory over prince Charles, near Czaſlaw, in the heart of Bohemia, whither he had penetrated with his army.

The Saxons were likewise in a condition of supporting him, and might assist in preserving

serving the conquests which the French armies had made in conjunction with their allies, in favour of the common cause. In the midst of these seeming advantages, Marshal Bellisle, who was, recovered of his illness, set out from Frankfort for the French army, commanded by marshal Broglio, and found the Austrians at Sahay near Frauemberg, upon the road to Prague. These two generals did not agree well in their notions; but their zeal for the public service united them: that night they lay on the same mattress, and the next day they fought one of the sharpest and most glorious battles in the whole war; if glory is annexed to small events well conducted, and intrepidly supported, as well as to more decisive engagements. Six hundred carabiniers, and three hundred dragoons, with the marquiss de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuse at their head, attacked and defeated a body of 2500 cuirassiers, commanded by prince Lobkowitz, tho' the latter were well posted, and defended themselves with great bravery.

The duke de Chevreuse received three wounds in this engagement; the duke de Broglio, and all the officers, set an example to the soldiers. M. de Malesieux especially, who was major of the carabiniers, drew them up in such a manner as contributed greatly to the success of the day; the count de Berenger did great service with the brigade of Navarre. This was not a great battle, but

but a trial of skill between the Austrian and French generals, wherein each combatant did wonders, and by which the French troops received more honour than real advantage. All this bravery was thrown away; and they might have perceived, notwithstanding this seeming success, that the pit was dug, and they were tumbling into it.

The king of Prussia, dissatisfied with marshal Broglio, had wrote him a very slighting letter, after his victory at Czaſlaw, wherein he added a postscript with his own hand: *I am quit with my allies, for my troops have just now obtained a complete victory: it is your business to make what advantage you can of it immediately, otherwise you may be answerable to your allies.* Nobody comprehended the meaning of these words; *I am quit with my allies.* Marshal Broglio wrote to court, that the king of Prussia might have made use of more obliging terms, and that this prince did not understand French; but he understood it very well, and it was an easy matter to comprehend his meaning.

This monarch remained in a state of inaction after the battle of Czaſlaw, and they could not conceive what he meant by this inaction. There was no advantage taken of the little battle of Sahay; in short the troops wanted subsistence. The loss of a whole kingdom may sometimes depend on the too great distance of a magazine, and
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on the scarcity of a single article of provisions. The recruits which were expected from France came too late; the troops under the command of marshal Broglio, were so far diminished, that at a review of forty six battalions, which should have made very near thirty thousand men, they reckoned no more than twelve thousand.

The remainder of the army was dispersed in different posts, while prince Charles of Lorraine and prince Lobkowitz were reuniting their forces. To complete the misfortunes of the French, there was as little harmony between their generals as between the allies. Had the Prussians acted in concert with the French and the Saxons, it appears beyond all doubt that as they were in possession of Prague, of Egra, and of the northern part of Bohemia, and moreover victorious at Czaſlaw and at Sahay, they must have continued masters of Bohemia. Marshal Bellisle, to whom the king of Prussia wrote every day with the greatest degree of intimacy, and rather as a friend than as a crowned head, waited on this monarch the fifth of June in his camp, in order to settle every thing that might contribute to the success of the common cause. The king told him in these very words: *I give you warning that prince Charles is advancing towards M. de Broglio; and that if you do not improve the advantage you had at Sahay, I shall forthwith conclude a separate peace.*

And

And indeed it was very near a twelvemonth since this prince had been upon the point of coming to an agreement with the queen of Hungary; the negotiations had been renewed at Breslaw, and at the Hague; in short, the articles of the treaty had been drawn up, and they wanted nothing but signing. The sure way to preserve an ally, is to be able to do without him: But marshal Broglio's army was far from being in this happy situation; for it was daily wasting by sickness and desertion.

The French were driven from all their posts: they lost all their ammunition and provisions, part of which was plundered by their own soldiers, and the other part by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldaw, and pursued a detachment under M. de Aubigné, which was retiring in disorder. From thence he followed the French troops to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and to Beraun. These retreats cost the French as many men at least as a battle, and besides it dispirited the troops. The hussars perpetually harrassed them in their precipitate marches; their equipages were plundered; and every Frenchman that strayed from his corps, was sure to be butchered. In the midst of this disorder of so many detached bodies flying before the enemy, marshal Broglio saved the army, by making a stand with about ten thousand men against prince Charles's whole army, by
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putting a deep rivulet between the prince and him, by stealing a march, and at length by retiring towards Prague with his whole army. All this was admirably conducted, yet did not at all contribute to re-establish his affairs. While he was exerting his endeavours to prevent his troops from being destroyed by the united armies of prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, he was deserted by the king of Prussia. The first disasters of the French in Bavaria and Bohemia were the cause of the treaty's being drawn, and the latter of its being signed the 11th of June 1742. The king of Prussia had taken up arms at a proper time, in order to make an easy conquest of Silesia; and he was willing to lay them down at a proper time in order to preserve the largest and the richest part of that province, as far as the river Neiss.

The queen of Hungary, after having had it in her power fifteen months before, to obtain troops and money of the king of Prussia, to prevent the war, and to put the imperial crown on her husband's head, if she would only have resigned a part of this province, thought herself very lucky in yielding much more to Prussia, than he had asked at first, while she obtained nothing of him in return. She likewise granted him the county of Glatz; yet tho' she did not make an ally of this prince, she was for some time delivered from a very formidable enemy.

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In this treaty the emperor was deserted, nor was the least mention made of France. One of the conditions of the peace was, That Saxony should be comprehended in it, provided their troops withdrew from the French within sixteen days from the publication of the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew before the time prescribed ; and the French remained the only protectors of the emperor, and the only troops exposed to danger. Frankfort, where this prince had been crowned, served for his asylum. In vain did marshal Bellisle, tho' infirm, post away from the king of Prussia's camp to the court of Dresden ; in vain did marshal Broglio assemble his scattered troops, which were now considerably recruited. There was very little subordination in his army ; they found themselves in a strange country, without allies, and without succours : they had to fight against prince Charles, who was superior in numbers, and beloved by the army and by the people. The advantage of speaking the language of the country, which has the misfortune of being the seat of war, is also very great ; you receive intelligence oftener and sooner : the national troops are always favoured, and the foreigners are betrayed.

There was another inconveniency, which alone is sufficient to destroy any army or state. Marshal Bellisle, who arrived at Prague from Dresden towards the end of the month

month of June, had the commission of general in Bohemia ; and marshal Broglio, who had under him, in the neighbourhood of Prague, part of the battalions designed for Bavaria, wanted to preserve his command, as being the oldest marshal. Thus there were two generals, while the principal officers did not know whom to obey. But cardinal Fleury continued the command to marshal Bellisle. While they remained in this dubious and dangerous situation, the king's service did not suffer much, a thing still more extraordinary than this division of authority.

The French, thus deserted by their allies, were still in possession of the place of the greatest importance among all their conquests. But whilst Bohemia was the theatre of these revolutions, the Hungarians, still masters of the capital of Bavaria, lorded it over the people with all the licentiousness and cruelty of an unbridled soldiery. The city of Munich was obliged to pay the heaviest contributions ; the neighbouring villages were plundered, and the people driven to despair. The king of France did not forsake the emperor, but while he kept Prague and Egra for him, he sent the duke of Harcourt to relieve Bavaria, with an army of about fifteen thousand men : this diversion set Munich for a minute or two at liberty.

The Austrian general, count Kevenhuller, had assembled his troops, and withdrawn
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from Munich so early as the month of April. The inhabitants highly incensed against the garrison knocked numbers of them down, as they were marching out; then they shut the gates of Munich, which was almost an open town, and intrenched themselves in this situation. But some days after they were obliged to surrender a second time, and to deliver up their arms; this cost the lives of a great many citizens, who were massacred by the Pandours; while others got off by surrendering part of their property. The Bavarian troops were always beaten; and it was as much as the duke of Harcourt could do, to maintain himself along the Danube against a superior enemy. But all Europe had then its eyes upon Prague, where the two French marshals had, after so many disasters, assembled about eight and twenty thousand effective men, either in the town, or under the walls. Prince Charles of Lorrain appeared before this city the 27th of June 1742, with an army of about forty five thousand men; and general Festitz brought him eighteen thousand Hungarians, who had been employed in Silesia, and who, by the late peace with the king of Prussia, were let loose against the French.

No instance as yet had been seen of an army of sixty thousand men besieging another army of 28000; but the more numerous the garrison, and the more populous the town, the more it was with reason pre-

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sumed,

sumed, that they must want ammunition and provisions. The queen of Hungary used all possible endeavours to recover this capital; she gave every horse in her stables to carry the artillery and ammunitions for the siege of Prague; the lords of her court followed her example, or paid for the waggons horses in money. The more this court had been exhausted, the more their hopes began to revive.

The queen had made herself an Amazonian habit, in order to enter Prague on horseback in triumph, at the head of her victorious army. So sure were they in all parts of the queen of Hungary's dominions, of taking Prague in a very little time, that a general of the Austrian Netherlands, sent a servant from Brussels to Prague, in order to get the first information of the taking of that city.

The French minister obliged marshal Bellisle to offer to evacuate the town, provided the queen would permit all the French troops in Bohemia to retire, and that the Austrians on their side evacuated Bavaria. This proposal seemed to be the preliminary of a general peace; but the Austrians were far from accepting of it; for in the second conference marshal Konigseck declared to marshal Bellisle, that the queen his mistress expected that the whole French army should surrender themselves prisoners of war. In Prague almost every thing was wanting, except

cept courage. Towards the end of July butchers meat cost four livres a pound; horses flesh was served up at the very best tables; and from the scarcity of forage, above fourteen thousand horses were obliged to be killed, or to be left to the enemy. The dukes de Biron, de Chevreuse, de Luxembourg, de Bouffler, de Fleury; the count de Clermont-Tonnere, colonel-general of the horse, and M. de Schelles, intendant of the army, sent their plate to the mint at Prague, in order to ease both the officers and soldiers.

To be thus distant from their native soil, in the midst of a people whose language they did not understand, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to all sorts of want, without being sure of receiving any relief; in short, to have no other subject of conversation than their past mistakes, and present danger; this was the fate of the French in Prague. The Austrians battered their entrenchments with an hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty six mortars; but having no good engineers, they proceeded very slowly in their works. The branches of their trenches were too long and too wide, and the French benefited by these mistakes. They made sallies every day, but that of the 22d of August was the most memorable, being a downright battle. The besieged, to the number of 12000, attacked the besiegers, made themselves masters of a

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battery

battery of cannon, took two hundred prisoners, filled, up the works, took general Monti, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded above two thousand. In this action the duke de Biron, the prince des Deux Ponts, brother of the reigning duke, and the prince de Beauveau were wounded. The marquis de Tessé, chief equerry to the queen, and his lieutenant-colonel, were slain near to each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment of Auvergne, and the marquis de Molac, colonel of Berry, also lost their lives.

This memorable engagement cost very dear, but surpris'd the Austrians. They never would venture to carry any of those feeble works which did not so much as merit the name of fortifications, but contented themselves with firing from their batteries, tho' to no manner of purpose, and without ever making the least breach; so that the town was rather invested than besieged. And yet the loss of all the French troops, both in Prague and Egra, seem'd in time to be inevitable, there was only one resource left: this was to send to their assistance that very army of about forty thousand men, who, under the command of marshal Marshal Maillebois, had compelled the king of England to sign an apparent neutrality, and who kept Holland and Hanover in awe: but this army was two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was propos'd by
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the marquis de Fenelon, ambassador in Holland: it had its inconveniences; but it was also attended with its advantages. The French were then in the most perplexed situation: tho' their country is able to raise and to maintain 300,000 men for above ten years, without exhausting itself, yet there were hardly more than 20,000 at that time in the heart of the kingdom. They had sent at different intervals into Germany the better part of 212 squadrons, and 117 battalions, which had been recruited from time to time: these troops, which were dispersed at Prague, at Egra, in Bavaria, and in the upper Palatinate, were above half of them wasted away. Count Saxe, who commanded in Bavaria, wrote to court that he had not an hundred and fifty men to a battalion.

To relieve, and to disengage these dispersed, these weakened, and almost annihilated armies, the expedient was thought of sending marshal Maillebois's fine army, consisting of forty one battalions, and sixty five squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thousand Hessians, with three independent companies of infantry, and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all these troops had acted together in one body, when assisted by Prussia and Saxony, they would infallibly have carried their point. On the other hand, if the army under marshal Maillebois was to move from the banks of

the Rhine, and to penetrate into Bohemia, the kingdom would be left naked; and then even the Dutch alone might be formidable, so as to insult the French frontiers with forty thousand men. It is true, the marquis de Fenelon answered for the neutrality of the states-general; but the king of England might enter Flanders with a powerful army. Upon this occasion the oldest and the ablest generals were consulted. The marshal de Puisegur represented the difficulties and the dangers; marshal Noailles acknowledged both, but insisted on the Necessity of the undertaking. Marshal d'Asfield was of the same opinion, and the king determined on this hazardous but necessary step, sensible that great exploits cannot be atchieved without running great risks.

They were still greatly puzzled to settle the route of this army, and the scene of its operations. The emperor Charles VII. wanted to employ it in his electoral dominions, where he should command it in person: the reason he gave in writing was, that by delivering Bavaria from her enemies, Prague would be set free; and that the Austrians would infallibly raise the siege, as soon as Maillebois's army reached the banks of the Danube. But the French ministry could not place their last resource in the hands of an emperor who had so poorly defended his own territories against the Austrians. Cardinal Fleury wrote to him to dissuade him from it; and

and the only reason he gives in his letter of the 19th of August is couched in these terms: *How would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage suitable to his dignity?* This was a strange reason indeed, which very little agreed with the six millions of livres that the king of France gave the emperor annually. Marshal Maillebois wanted to lead his army into Bavaria, where he expected to find greater plenty of provisions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia. Marshal Puisegur, perceiving it absolutely necessary that this army should march, was of opinion that it should go at least where marshal Maillebois wanted to lead it; but the great object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The cardinal's intention was, that Maillebois's army should give spirits to all the rest of the king's troops.

In the mean time this minister essayed every method of accommodation: he took care to sound king George the second, who had been obliged the preceding year to remain neuter in a cause which the English had at heart; he flattered himself with the hopes of some success in the way of negotiation; but the time was passed. The celebrated sir Robert Walpole, who had been intrusted with the direction of the public affairs in England under king George the first, and the present king, had been lately compelled by the nation to resign his employments, because he was of a pacifick disposition. His

greatest enemies agreed, that never minister knew better how to manage those great trading companies, which are the basis of the credit of England, nor better how to conduct affairs in parliament; but his greatest friends at the same time allowed, that no minister before him had made more use of the public money in parliamentary influence. He made no secret of this himself; for the author of these memoirs heard him say: *There is a drug with which we remove all bad humours, and it is sold only in my shop.* These words, which shew no elevation of style or of understanding, were expressive of his character. War was never his taste. He always thought it would be the period of his power. *I can undertake*, he used to say, *to manage a parliament in time of peace; but I cannot answer to do it in time of war.* Cardinal Fleury had often profited by this timidity, and therefore preserved a superiority in his negotiations. This is what the party that opposed sir Robert Walpole laid to his charge. They continually complained of his dilatoriness in declaring war against Spain: a strange sort of crime, in having desired to continue peace to a trading nation.

This party was made up not only of the tories, who are always enemies of the whigs; but was moreover a coalition of whigs and tories equally dissatisfied, because they were determined to be so. This faction

was

was called *the country party*, in opposition to that which went by the name of the *court party*; a division not unlike to that which has been always in Poland, and what we have lately beheld in Sweden. For in all states the ministry are the object of jealousies and complaints; and tho' in absolute monarchies these evaporate into empty murmurs, yet they become downright factions in mixt governments.

The country party complained loudly that king George II. had sacrificed by his treaty of neutrality, the glory of Great Britain to the preservation of Hanover: at the same time they laid the whole blame upon sir Robert, who had no share in this necessary and transient treaty, which was made only to be broke. Long before this they had attacked this minister in open parliament. Mr. Sandys, member then of the house of commons, said these words publicly, the 23d of February 1741. *Get ready, for in three days time I shall impeach you. I accept the challenge,* replied the minister, *provided we fight honourably*; and at the same time he quoted this verse out of Horace:

Nil conscire sibi; nullâ palefcere culpâ?

Accordingly, on the day appointed, his accuser made a motion in the house of commons, to address his majesty to remove sir Robert Walpole from his council, and from his presence: at the same time my lord Car-

teret made the same motion in the house of peers : and the question was debated in both houses till midnight.

This was a manifest injustice to desire the punishment of a man, before he had been convicted of having deserved it. However, that which sometimes happens, happened then : the right side of the question carried it in both houses, and sir Robert maintained his ground still for some time. But at the expiration of the seven years, during which the representatives of the people have a right to sit in parliament, new members being chosen, and the country party growing stronger ; the minister, who had stood his ground twenty years against such a number of enemies, saw that he must be obliged to lay down * ; The king made him a peer of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Orford, and three days after he resigned all his employments. Upon this they commenced a parliamentary prosecution against him ; they insisted on his giving an account of about thirty millions of livres, which he had expended in ten years secret services, among which they reckoned twelve hundred thousand livres given to political writers, or to those who had employed their pens in the service of the minister. The king, incensed at this accusation eluded their pursuit, by proroguing the parliament ; that is, by

* Jan. 19th, 1741.

suspending its sitting, in virtue of the royal prerogative.

The person who then gained the upper hand was this very lord Carteret, who had made the motion against sir Robert in the house of peers. The king employed this nobleman in order to convince the nation that he was as much inclined to war as they; so that the better to govern them he favoured their passions.

Lord Carteret, who had been formerly secretary of state, and afterwards lord lieutenant of Ireland, was one of the most learned men in England; he spoke several living languages, especially French and Spanish, extremely well; was bold, artful, active, indefatigable, prodigal of the public money upon occasions, and as inclined to war thro' pleasure and taste, as Walpole had been inclined to peace. He did not get into sir Robert's place, which is that of high treasurer under another title; but resumed his ancient post of secretary of state for the northern provinces, and immediately he came into higher credit than had ever fallen to sir Robert's share.

The cardinal made some overtures to this minister concerning an accommodation, and even went so far as to propose the mediation of Great Britain: but all the answer my lord Carteret made him, was to engage the parliament to grant money to the king for the raising of troops: for taking the Hanoverian

verian forces into pay; for granting subsidies to Denmark and to Hesse Cassel, who were always ready to sell men to both parties; for augmenting the subsidies of the queen of Hungary: for entering into an alliance with the king of Sardinia, and maintaining his army; for conducting a conspiracy at Naples; and for sending fleets to the Mediterranean and to America. He formed also a scheme of procuring the bishoprics of Osnabrug and Hildersheim to be yielded to the elector of Hanover in full property; and in short of making his master the umpire of both hemispheres.

At the same time that cardinal Fleury addressed himself to so imperious a court, he applied also to the very general that was actually besieging Prague. He wrote to field marshal Konigseck, a letter dated the 11th of July, which was delivered him by marshal Belleisle, wherein he excused himself in regard to the war that had been undertaken, alledging that he had been carried away by the torrent contrary to his own inclination. *It is known, said he, to a great many, how strongly I opposed the resolution we have taken, and that I was in some measure forced to consent to it. Your excellency is too well acquainted with what has passed, not to guess at the person who set every engine at work, to determine the king to enter into a confederacy so contrary to my inclination and to my principles.* All the answer the queen of Hungary

gary ordered to be made, was to print the cardinal's letter. It is easy to see what bad effects this letter must have produced: in the first place it threw the whole blame of the war on the very general who was employed to negotiate with count Konigseck; and to render his person odious, was not the way to facilitate the success of his negotiation. In the second place it was in some measure acknowledging the weakness of the ministry; and it implied a very slender knowledge of mankind not to foresee that this weakness would be made a handle of, that the allies of France would grow indifferent, and her enemies more intractable.

The cardinal seeing his letter printed, wrote a second, wherein he complained to the Austrian general of the publication of his letter, and told him *that he should not be hereafter so forward to write to him.* This second letter did him more harm than the first. He denied them both in some public papers; and this denial, by which no body indeed was deceived, crowned all those imprudent steps, which less severe judges were apt to excuse in a man, who was eighty seven years of age, and tired with dis-appointments. At length the emperor made proposals of peace to the court of London, and especially those very secularisations of bishoprics in favour of Hanover. The English minister did not think he wanted the emperor's assistance to obtain these bi-
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shoprics, and insulted that prince's offers by rendering them public; the consequence was, that the emperor disowned his proposals of peace, as cardinal Fleury had disowned the war.

The dispute now grew warmer than ever; France on the one hand, and England on the other, who were really principals under the name of auxiliaries, endeavoured to hold the european balance with sword in hand. Towards the spring of 1742, the court of England sent into Flanders sixteen thousand English, sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians; who in conjunction with fifteen thousand Austrians composed a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stairs, an officer formed under the duke of Marlborough, and afterwards ambassador in France, in 1715.

Before England struck a blow she wanted to drag Holland into this quarrel; but the states, adhering strictly to the treaties by which they were only bound to supply the queen of Hungary with money, would not as yet furnish any quota of troops. Holland was then divided into two parties, one desirous of preserving peace, and the other impatient for war; a third, at that time not so well known, but which was gaining ground every day, wished for a change of government, and a stadtholder. But this party durst not as yet declare themselves openly before the other two; the love of liberty

berly still prevailed over gratitude to the blood of the Nassaus, and over the intrigues of the prince of Orange. These principles, this division of minds, and this dilatoriness so common to republics, when they are not threatened by some pressing danger, prevented the Dutch from joining their forces to those of the queen of Hungary and of the king of Great Britain.

The parties which at that time divided the republic, seemed to be founded rather on difference of opinion than on violence of faction. That spirit of sedition, which in almost a similar case, had been the cause of De Witt's being massacred by the people, seemed to be extinct; the grandson of the pensionary De Wit, who like him opposed the war, walked quietly on foot to the council. They never had one tumultuous deliberation: but on the other hand they had no determinate project; and when the states had taken a resolution to augment their troops with twenty thousand men at all events, not one of the regency could tell, whether they were determined for a war.

Lord Carteret went over to the Hague, in order to hurry them into this measure. Lord Stairs, who commanded the English army at Brussels, repaired likewise to the same place with the same view. The duke of Aremberg, as eager as any, backed them with his vague solicitations. My lord

Stairs

Stairs had an army that was able to penetrate into France without their assistance: for reckoning the Austrians, they were above eighty thousand men; he wanted to take Dunkirk, whose fortifications were weak on the land side, from the nature of the soil which is all sand. It is very certain that in France they were under apprehensions for Dunkirk; the English who were continually proclaiming at the Hague, that the French had restored the fortifications of that harbour, used every endeavour to excite the Dutch to join with them in demanding satisfaction for this pretended infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Marshal Puisegur advised Cardinal Fleury to propose sequestering Dunkirk into the hands of the states general till the conclusion of a peace. Such a proposal, which was frank and artful at the same time, ought to have engaged the Dutch to behave as mediators and not as enemies. The proposal was made them by the marquis of Fenelon; but though the English party had not as yet authority sufficient to force Holland into a war, yet they had such influence as to hinder their accepting an honour, which would necessarily have rendered them neuter. In the mean time the allied army at Brussels might have penetrated into France; but the king of England wanted to temporize, and to wait till Holland had fully determined; which was one of the greatest mistakes committed during

during this whole war. I was at that time myself witness of the amazement and concern of my lord Stairs, who said that the king his master had lost an opportunity, which he would never meet with again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or upon the Rhine; but the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon Bohemia. The two marshals, Broglio and Belleisle, were still masters of Prague, and still besieged. The army commanded by marshal Maillebois, was marching to their assistance through Westphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the upper Palatinate. Prince Charles upon the news of the march of this army, turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, and immediately flew to the defence of Bohemia.

It was at this very time * that a partizan whose name was Trenk, at the head of a crew of Pandours, Talpashes, and Croati-ans, took the town of Chamb on the frontiers of the upper Palatinate, which still held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the sword, and set fire to the town, after having first given it up to be plundered by the soldiers, and taken, as it is said, to his own share, the sum of 300,000 German florins, which had been deposited in this place. These same banditti having met a French convoy of sick soldiers,

* 14th and 15th December, 1742.

massacred

massacred the sick and their conductors. With such savage ferocity did these irregular troops of Hungary carry on the war in every quarter.

In France most people were afraid that Prague and Egra must soon undergo the same fate; yet they still flattered themselves with hopes from Maillebois's army; while the raising of the siege of Prague revived the spirits of the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a transitory satisfaction, when the prince of *Deux ponts*, brother of the reigning duke, brought him the colours taken from the Austrians in those sallies, which had been so many real battles, and wherein this prince had greatly distinguished himself. At length the army under marshal Maillebois arrived towards the beginning of September on the frontiers of Bohemia. Hitherto every measure had been justly concerted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body under his command in Bavaria, which indeed consisted of no more than twenty seven thin battalions and thirty squadrons, but was a great addition to the new army. Count Saxe who had already the character of improving every opportunity, had just stole away with the corps under his command in Bavaria, from Kevenhuller's army which had cooped him up; and by a very dextrous march, he advanced towards the frontiers of Bohemia on

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one side, while marshal Broglio approached on the other.

The duke of Harcourt with a detachment of count Saxe's troops had already taken the little town of Plan, at the western extremity of Bohemia, where he made four hundred prisoners of war. Count Saxe having afterwards evacuated Plan, and taken another post called Elnbogen, joined his troops to the grand army, who were soon within sight of the Austrians. They now had it in their power to come to an engagement with the enemy; but it was a very hazardous affair; and if they should happen to be defeated, they were neither sure of a retreat nor of subsistence. The minister had wrote twice to marshal Maillebois: *take care not to expose the king's armies to any disgrace; and do not engage in an action the success of which may be dubious.*

But there could be no action whose success was not dubious; and the difficulty encreased every day in regard to subsistence, because the enemy had plundered a magazine. The French wanted to open a road to Prague, by Caden, on the river Eger, leaving Egra and Elnbogen behind; when once they had taken post at Caden, the communication with Prague seemed easy, and they might receive provisions from Saxony. Moreover, marshal Broglio had posted the marquiss Armentieres at Leutmeritz with some troops. Leutmeritz is a small town of Bohemia, where

where the Eger falls into the Elbe, about half way between Caden and Prague. The whole depended on the post of Caden, so that the people of Paris exhausted their conjectures and criticisms on this important operation. Never was the conduct of generals censured with so much severity and precipitation; nay, it has been even since publicly questioned whether the French troops had ever been at Caden or not.

I shall give here the real fact as it has been attested by the general himself. This detail will not perhaps be of any importance to posterity; but it is interesting at present. The twenty second of October, count Saxe detached some troops to Caden in order to break down the bridge over the Eger, and to prevent the enemy's passage. In consequence of this order an independent company enters Caden, and breaks down the bridge; but no sooner is this done than the Austrians arrive, restore the bridge, and make themselves masters of Caden. Then all communication between Broglio's army and that of marshal Maillebois was cut off: the latter received no account from Leutmeritz; nor could he proceed to Caden but by a defile which appeared impracticable. The kingdom of Bohemia is surrounded with craggy mountains, through which there are only narrow passes, where a hundred men may stop a whole army. The forces under marshal Maillebois had no
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more bread than would last them till the 24th of October; so that the general was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat a piece. They tried the defile of Caden; the artillery could not pass; the waggoners all deserted; their places were supplied by soldiers, yet no progress was made; murmurings, want of discipline, misunderstandings, scarcity, every thing in short obstructed their passage. A council of war was called the 17th of October, where all the general officers were for retiring. Count d'Estrées sent his opinion in writing: *I see, said he, no other way than to assemble all our forces and to fight, or to go no farther.* All the rest proposed what had been first mentioned before their march into Bohemia, which was, to turn towards the Danube, in order to save Bavaria and frighten Austria. Thus the army could hardly set foot in Bohemia, but fatigued and diminished by a long and painful march, returned towards Bavaria. It was however a great advantage to that electorate to have these new troops, which in conjunction with those of count Saxe, composed an army of about fifty thousand men. The court sent marshal Broglio to command them.

This general having passed through Saxony with five hundred horse, reached Nuremberg the 12th of November, and the 22d he took upon him the command of the
army

army at Dingelfing in Bavaria. Marshal Belleisle continued in Prague, where he cut out work for the Austrians: and Maillebois's army of course acquired a superiority in Bavaria. Munich was disengaged a second time; and the emperor returned to his capital. This prince had still a body of about ten or twelve thousand men; the French were masters of the course of the Danube, the length of more than thirty leagues, from Ulm as far as Passau; while in Bohemia they still kept possession of Egra and Prague, and were masters of the little circle of Leutmeritz between Prague and Saxony. Thus there was still a possibility of restoring the emperor's affairs; but Leutmeritz was taken soon after, and marshal Belleisle found himself shut up in Prague, with the remainder of an entire army now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without subsistence, without money, and without any prospect of succours. He had nothing to hope but from himself, and from the good disposition of a great many officers, who did not fall short of his expectation. *I cannot*, said he, in a letter dated the 28th of October, *sufficiently commend on this occasion the zeal of the duke de Chevreuse, of the duke de Fleury, and of the marquiss de Surgeres, who have sold all they had left to remount the dragoons.* The marshal seconded by his brother, opened a passage through the enemy, beat their different parties, kept them
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at the distance of above six leagues all round him, took care to have provisions brought into Prague, and established a strict police in the town, as well as a severe discipline among the troops, which was not the easiest part of his task.

When we see by the memoirs of the siege to what extremity they were reduced, what divisions were among the troops, how loudly they complained, and how greatly they were provoked by want, and discouraged by a series of misery, we are surprized that the marshal could ever manage so well. M. de Sechelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hospitals want. The most diligent assistance was necessary upon this occasion, for about twenty soldiers died every day, one upon the other, since the month of June. These with so many other losses continually presented themselves to the minds of the soldiers, who were terrified not only by their present misery, but likewise by their future evils, which are generally heightened by the imagination.

In this cruel situation were they in the month of November, when the minister ordered marshal Belleisle to try to evacuate Prague in spite of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote that he had concerted measures for whatever orders he might receive; that if the cardinal wanted he should hold out four months longer, he would undertake to do it; and if he was commanded

commanded to evacuate Prague with all his troops, he would conduct them in safety to Egra, in spite of the enemy's army, and of the rigour of the season. The court chose the last, and it was accordingly executed: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry, his dragoons were formed of the horses belonging to the artillery; he had covered waggons to carry provisions; in short he wanted no manner of conveniency.

And yet the expedition was extremely hazardous: Prague was surrounded by Prince Lobkowitz's army, who were distributed into different quarters: the inhabitants of the town were so many spies: the cold was intense to that degree, as to be almost intolerable: about two thousand soldiers were sick, and the marshal himself had been ill a long time, so that he was not able to ride on horseback. Nevertheless, in the midst of all these difficulties, he fixed on his retreat in the night of the 17th of December 1742. In order to compass it with safety, it was necessary he should deceive prince Lobkowitz, the inhabitants of Prague, and his own troops; for this purpose he frequently sent out detachments to gather in corn in the neighbourhood; and these detachments had always cannon and covered waggons with them, to the end, that when he evacuated the town in this manner, it should occasion less surprize; and

and two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his departure he kept the gates shut; and having given out that he would go upon an expedition towards a particular side of the country, he went another way, and stole a march of twenty four hours of prince Lobkowitz: thus proceeding in order of battle, and sometimes followed by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy might present themselves, he forced their quarters, repulsed their cuirassiers, and penetrated into the country by an unfrequented road with eleven thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The retreat was continued ten days in the midst of ice and snow. The enemy's cavalry incommoded their march, hovering continually about them in front, in the rear, or in flank, but they were always repulsed: if they could have fallen upon the provisions, Bellisle's whole army would have been destroyed.

To prevent this misfortune, he had distributed his army into five divisions, each of which had its own share of ammunition and provisions. The third day's march he was overtaken by prince Lobkowitz, who appeared at the head of a body of cavalry on the other side of a plain, where, if they had a mind, they might come to an engagement. Prince Lobkowitz held a council of war, in which it was resolved not to attack an army whom despair must render invinci-

ble; he therefore determined to cut off their retreat, and to go and break down the bridges by which the French must pass over the river Eger.

But the marshal pitched upon a road which would have been impassable in any other season; for he conducted his army over frozen morasses. The cold was the most formidable enemy he had to encounter; above eight hundred soldiers perished upon the road; one of the hostages, whom he brought along with him from Prague, died in his coach: at length after a journey of eight and thirty leagues, he arrived the 26th of December at Egra. The same day the troops that remained in Prague made a glorious capitulation: M. de Chevert, who had scaled the town, was left to command the garrison, which consisted of about three thousand men, one third of whom were sick: in this situation he took hostages of the town, whom he shut up in his own house, and put several tons of gun powder into his cellars, fully determined to blow them and himself up into the air, if the inhabitants offered the least violence. This intrepidity did not a little contribute to the honourable conditions which he obtained of prince Lobkowitz. He was permitted to conduct his garrison with all military honours to the city of Egra, except the sick who were not able to follow him, but were forced to submit to the hard condition of being made prisoners,

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tho' their behaviour deserved a better fate. Thus this city which had been taken in half an hour, was happily evacuated after a siege and a blockade of five months. The French being left alone, and without allies, were not able to preserve Bohemia for the emperor; but they restored him to his electoral dominions.

C H A P. V.

State of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs betwixt England and Spain. Commercial interests. What share Italy took in the troubles which happened after the death of Charles VI. What share Holland took. Death of Cardinal Fleury.

IN the space of two years from the death of the late Austrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have seen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the upper Palatinate taken and retaken; Prussia and Saxony united with France till the peace of Breslaw made in June 1742, and afterwards becoming neuter; the other princes of the empire in a profound silence; George the II. king of Great Britain beginning openly in 1742 to break his forced neutrality, and his troops to the number of forty eight thousand men in Flanders in a state of inaction, but ready to act; in fine the Austrian armies in possession of all Bohemia,

hernia, excepting the city of Egra. But there was still an army of fifty thousand French in Bavaria and in the upper Palatinate, under the command of marshal Broglie against a like number of the enemy ; so that it yet appeared dubious whether the Bavarian emperor was to be victorious with the assistance of France, or whether he should be able to preserve his patrimonial estate, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be observed, that since the month of August 1741, France had at different times sent to the emperor's assistance one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight of light troops, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians; to these we must add the Bavarian troops themselves which were in French pay. They likewise raised towards the end of the year 1742 thirty thousand militia distributed among the generalities, according to the number of inhabitants; in regard to which we may take notice, that the generality of Paris furnishes no more than fourteen hundred and ten men, while Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety, which shews that the latter is considered as the most populous province.

France at that time employed every resource; for besides what she paid to the Hessians, and to the Palatines; besides the annual pension of six millions to the emperor ;

ror; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark, to prevent his furnishing the king of England with troops; and she likewise continued to pay subsidies to Sweden, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia; and had it not been for this war betwixt Sweden and Russia, the court of Petersburg might have sent thirty thousand men to the assistance of the queen of Hungary, as she did some time afterwards.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make, both at home and abroad; she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland interested herself but very little in the affairs of her king, the elector of Saxony; and this prince, since the peace which he had concluded with the queen, seemed to concern himself no farther in the quarrel of the empire. The grand signior, who was afraid of Schah Nadir, the usurper of Persia, and conqueror of part of Asia, gave no disturbance to Hungary. Such was the situation of the north, and of the east of Europe, of the south and of the west, I mean of France and Italy. Spain afforded another scene, wherein England acted a principal character, both by the interest of the equilibrium of power, which she always affected to hold, and by her commerce, a more real and more sensible interest. We have already taken notice, that after the happy time of the peace of Utrecht, the English, who were in possession of Mi-

norca and of Gibraltar in Spain, had moreover obtained some privileges of the court of Madrid, which this court had refused even to the French her defenders. The English merchants were permitted to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, whom they purchased in Africa to make slaves in the new world. This negroe trade, for which they paid thirty three piaſtres a head to the Spanish government, was an object of considerable gain ; for the South-sea company, in furnishing four thousand eight hundred negroes, had likewise obtained the privilege of selling the eight hundred without paying any duty. But the greatest advantage the English enjoyed, in preference to other nations, was the permission granted them in the year 1716, of sending a ship annually to Porto Bello.

This ship, which in the beginning was allowed to contain no more than 500 tons, was in 1717, by agreement, raised to eight hundred and fifty tons, but in reality, and by abuse to a thousand, which made two millions weight of goods. These thousand tons were the least part of that commerce ; a pinnace attended the vessel under pretence of carrying provisions to it, and went continually to and fro ; this pinnace took in loads of goods in the English colonies, and conveyed them to this vessel, which being constantly replenished, answered the end of a whole fleet. Besides, other vessels used to
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come and fill the company's ship, and their boats frequently landed such goods on the coasts of America as the inhabitants wanted. This was doing a great injury to the Spanish government, and even to the several nations concerned in the trade carried on from the ports of Spain to the gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish government treated the English traders with severity; and severities are generally carried too far. Sometimes the innocent were confounded with the guilty; the sums lawfully due to the one were detained from them, because the others had made unlawful gains; in short they complained heavily on both sides. A great many English became pirates with impunity; they met with some Spaniards on the coasts of Florida, who were fishing for the galleons that had been cast away, and of which they had recovered four hundred thousand piasters. The English killed part of the crew, and seized all the money. The Spaniards demanded satisfaction for these outrages of the English governors in those quarters; but the English free-booters, when they took a Spanish vessel, used to sink it, with all the crew, after they had gutted it, that there might not be any proof of their villainy. At other times they sold those Spaniards in their own colonies, and when these wretches demanded justice of the English governor, those who had sold them got off by pretending that from their swarthy complexion they had ta-

ken them for Negroes : the pirates understood one another, and divided the spoils with the judges, and then said that they had been tried by their peers.

The Spanish guarda-costas revenged themselves frequently of these cruel hostilities ; they took a great many vessels, and used the crews extremely ill. In the mean time they were negotiating at Madrid and at London to terminate the disputes in America. By the convention of the Prado, of the fourteenth of January 1739. Spain having made up her accounts with the South-sea company, promised to pay them ninety thousand pounds sterling in four months, making a deduction of what the company was in other respects indebted to Spain ; but this deduction became the subject of a fresh quarrel, so that the accounts of private merchants produced a war, wherein both sides spent a thousand times more than the demand on either side amounted to.

During these transactions the captain of a ship whose name was Jenkins, went and presented himself before the house of commons in 1739 ; he was a plain open man, and, as it is said, had carried on no contraband trade, but had been met by a Spanish guarda-costa, within a certain distance of the American coast, where the Spaniards will not suffer any English vessels to sail. The Spanish commander seized on Jenkins's ship, laid the crew in irons, then split the
nose,

nose, and cut off the ears of their captain. In this condition Jenkins appeared before the house, where he related this adventure with the simplicity usual to his profession and character. *Gentlemen, said he, after they had mangled me in this manner, they threatened to put me to death; I expected it, and recommended my soul to God, but the revenge of my cause to my country.* These words pronounced with a natural emphasis, excited indignation and pity in the whole assembly; and the common people of London wrote upon the door of the house of commons, *A free sea, or war.*

We have already taken notice that sir Robert Walpole wanted to reconcile these differences; while his adversaries were eager to inflame the minds of the people. Never was more real eloquence displayed than in the speeches made at that time in both houses of parliament; nay I question whether the studied harangues, which were formerly pronounced at Athens and at Rome, upon almost similar occasions, are superior to the extemporaneous discourses of sir William Windham, lord Carteret, sir Robert Walpole, the earl of Chesterfield, and Mr. Pultney, since earl of Bath. These discourses, the natural effect of an English spirit and government, are apt to cause a surprize in those who are strangers to that nation; just as some commodities, which are cheap and disregarded in the country of

their growth, are greatly prized in other places. But we must read these harangues with great precaution; for the spirit of party runs through them all, and the real state of the nation is generally disguised. The ministerial party represent the government in a flourishing condition; while the contrary faction affirm that the nation is ruined and undone. *Where are those days*, cried a member at that time in the house, *when a minister declared, that no power in Europe should fire a single cannon, without leave first obtained from England?*

At length the public voice of the nation determined the king and parliament; letters of reprisal were delivered out to the merchants, and to privateers; and war was declared in form against Spain, towards the end of 1739.

At first the sea was the scene of action between the two nations, in which the privateers on both sides, provided with letters patent, began in Europe and America to attack the merchant ships, and mutually to destroy the very commerce for which they were fighting; but they soon proceeded to greater hostilities.

Admiral Vernon appeared in 1740, in the gulf of Mexico, where he attacked and took the town of Porto Bello, the staple of the treasures of the new world. He demolished the fortifications of this place, and made it a new channel of communication,
by

by which the English continued, sword in hand, to carry on that commerce, which had been hitherto clandestine, and the cause of the rupture. This expedition was considered by the English as one of the greatest services done to the nation. The admiral received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and they wrote to him just as they had done to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hockstet. From that time the South-sea stocks rose, notwithstanding the immense expences of the nation. The English now expected to conquer Spanish America, imagining that nothing could withstand Admiral Vernon: and when this admiral went some time after to lay siege to Carthagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking it; for at the very time when Vernon was raising the siege, they struck a medal, on which were to be seen the harbour and the environs of Carthagena, with this legend: *He has taken Carthagena*. The reverse represented admiral Vernon, with these words; *to the avenger of his country*. There are a great many examples of these hasty medals, which would impose upon posterity, if the more faithful and more exact representations of history did not prevent such errors.

The navy of France, tho' in a weak condition, was yet able to stop the progress of the English; and squadrons were sent to protect the vessels and coasts of Spain. The
English

English not being yet come to a rupture with France, could not, according to the law of nations, insult the French flag ; but they eluded this new kind of policy by a new artifice. They pretended twice to mistake the French ships for Spanish ; thus six of their men of war attacked the chevalier d'Epinau, in the neighbourhood of St. Domingo, who had only four, each of which mounted fewer guns than any of the English : but finding themselves very roughly handled, they put an end to the engagement, asking pardon for their mistake. This was a new way of justifying hostilities ; they behaved in the very same manner towards the streights of Gibraltar, to the chevalier de Caylus, who gave them the very same reception, tho' they were five to three ; and thus they tried one another's strength, without declaring war. Such was the first beginning of that extraordinary kind of policy, of waging war in full peace ; of committing hostilities in one part of the world, while they shewed mutual respect in the other, and of having ambassadors at an enemy's court. This sort of caution was of some comfort to the people, because at least it shewed a mark of moderation, and gave them still hopes of public harmony.

Such was the situation of France in regard to Spain and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. threw Europe into confusion. We have already seen what effects

effects were felt in Germany from the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Italy was soon laid waste by this Austrian succession : Spain claimed the duchy of Milan ; and Parma and Placentia were to descend by right of blood to one of the sons of the queen, born princess of Parma.

Philip V. wanted to have the duchy of Milan for his third son ; for it would have alarmed Italy too much, had he designed Parma and Placentia for don Carlos, who was already master of Naples and Sicily. The union of too many states under the same sovereign would have given a general umbrage : so that don Philip was the prince for whom he allotted the duchies of Milan and Parma.

The queen of Hungary, then in possession of the Milanese, used her best endeavours to maintain her ground in that country. The king of Sardinia likewise revived his claims to this province : he was afraid to see it in the hands of the house of Lorrain, engrafted on the house of Austria, which being possessed at the same time of the Milanese and of Tuscany, might soon strip him of those territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738 ; but he was still more afraid of seeing himself hemmed in by France and by a prince of the house of Bourbon, while another prince of this family sat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily.

So

So early as the first of January 1742, he published a declaration of his rights ; in the February following he determined to join his forces to the queen of Hungary's, without agreeing with her in the main ; they only united at present against the common danger. They proposed no other advantage at that time ; the king of Sardinia even expressly reserved to himself the power of taking other measures whenever he thought proper ; so that upon the whole it was no more than a treaty betwixt two enemies, who thought only of defending themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who neither chose to have him for his friend nor for his neighbour. Cardinal Fleury granted a passage to don Philip, and to a part of his army thro' France ; but refused to assist him with troops. He thought he had done enough already in sending a fleet to America.

This minister, a year after he had sent two armies into Germany, of about forty thousand men each, to the assistance of the elector of Bavaria, seemed to be afraid of lending twelve thousand men to a prince of the house of Austria, and son-in-law of Lewis XV. At one time we do a great deal ; and at another time we are afraid of doing ever so little. The reason of this conduct was, that he flattered himself still with the hopes of gaining the duke of Savoy, who
seemed

seemed to leave the door open for an accommodation.

The cardinal had another motive; he did not care to come to an open rupture at that time with the English, who would have infallibly declared war against France. For in the month of February, 1742, the parliament had voted forty thousand seamen for the public service, and four pounds for each man; they likewise granted considerable supplies to the king, strongly recommending to him the balance of Europe. The English had a considerable fleet in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and another near Toulon; and the cardinal, who had hitherto preserved the ascendant over England in his negotiations, and who long depended on the superiority of the cabinet, had neglected that of the sea. The revolutions on the continent, which began in Germany, did not permit him to bid defiance every where to the maritime powers. The English openly opposed the settlement of don Philip in Italy, under the pretence of maintaining the equilibrium of Europe: but when they engaged in the war of 1702, in order to settle Spain, the new world, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders, upon the archduke Charles, while his brother Joseph was possessed of Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and so many other dominions, together with the imperial dignity, they
surely

surely looked upon the equilibrium with a different eye.

The case is, that the balance of power, however understood, was become the favourite passion of the people of England: but the ministry had another more secret view; they wanted to oblige Spain to grant England a share of the trade of the new world. Upon this condition they would have assisted don Philip to pass into Italy, as they had assisted don Carlos in 1731. But the court of Spain did not think proper to enrich her enemy, and moreover depended on being able to settle don Philip in spite of the English. In the months of November and December, 1741, the Spaniards had transported several bodies of troops into Italy by sea, under the command of the duke of Montemar, famous for his victory of Bitonto, and afterwards for his disgrace. These troops landed at different times on the coasts of Tuscany, and in the ports called the state *Degli Presidii*, belonging to the crown of the two Sicilies. As they were under a necessity of passing thro' the territories of Tuscany; the grand duke, husband of the queen of Hungary, granted them a free passage, declaring himself neuter in the cause of his wife. Pope Benedict XIV. thro' whose territories the Spanish army was likewise obliged to pass in the same conjuncture, as well as the Austrian forces, promised the same neutrality,

trality, for a better reason than any other prince, as the common father of princes and nations.

At the same time fresh troops arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa; this republic pretended also to a neutrality, and let them pass. Don Carlos embraced likewise a neutrality, tho' the cause of his father and his brother was concerned; but of all those powers, in appearance neuter, not one was so in reality. The king of the two Sicillies sent to the duke of Montemar some Neapolitan regiments in the Spanish pay. This prince had been obliged to promise not to concern himself in this quarrel; because neither the coast nor the city of Naples, were sheltered from the bombardments of an English fleet. He had not yet had time to render his new kingdom a potent state, such as it had been formerly under the Norman princes, and those of the house of Anjou. It was now near three hundred years since the Neapolitans had seen a sovereign residing in their capital, which being always governed by viceroys, and often changing masters, had not been able to acquire that vigour and strength, which a state derives from the settled administration of a prince who resides there in person. The king had begun with establishing order and commerce in his new dominions; but it must be the work of time to raise a navy, and to form disciplined and warlike troops: His neutrality, however, did

did not prevent the duke of Montemar's army, as we have observed, from being greatly increased by several Neapolitan regiments. By such a conduct don Carlos exercised his troops, and preserved peace and commerce throughout his dominions.

The duke of Modena was already secretly in the interest of Spain; Genoa was also inclined the same way; and the pope having acknowledged the emperor, immediately after his death, did not appear neuter in the eyes of the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, who was governor of the Milanese for this princess, drew all his forces, together with those which were sent him from Tyrol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. In the beginning of March 1740, the king of Sardinia joined the Austrians with a strong body of forces, and advanced towards the duchy of Parma. This prince seemed deserving of a greater extent of territory than that which he possessed, and which he now was endeavouring to enlarge; he exerted then as much courage and activity in the Austrian cause, as he had displayed against that house in 1733. In both these wars he shewed the value of his alliance, and that no means ought to be neglected either of making him a friend, or of putting it out of his power to hurt. He had excellent ministers, good generals, and was himself both minister and general, very saving in his expences,

pences, artful in his conduct, unwearied in labour, and brave in war.

Towards the month of May, he had already eighteen thousand men on the side of Parma, and the Austrians about twelve thousand towards the territory of Bologna. The duke of Montemar, being somewhat inferior in forces, was obliged to give way. The king of Sardinia advanced as far as Modena, wanting to draw the duke from his neutrality, and to compel him to change sides. He proposed to him, in concert with the Austrians, to deliver up his citadel: but this prince, and his spouse, had too much resolution to join against their will with a party in which they had no concern; they preferred therefore the misfortune of losing their dominions for a while, to the disgrace of depending on those who were proposing a real servitude to them, under the name of an alliance. In consequence of this resolution, they quitted their principality, and retired to Ferrara, while the Austrians and Piedmontese seized and almost ruined the whole duchy of Modena; such was the end of their neutrality.

With regard to the pope, tho' the queen of Hungary did not compel him to depart from the system he had taken, yet she obliged him at least to furnish her with the means of carrying on the war, even in the territories of the holy see: for as soon as her arms had gained the upper hand, she obtained,

tained, in the month of June, a bull from his holiness for levying the tenth penny on the church-lands in all her Italian dominions. Her troops, which were in pursuit of the duke of Montemar, thro' the territory of Bologna, and the marquisate of Aneona, lived at the expences of the pope's subjects. Rome had no means of causing her neutrality to be respected. It was no longer the time when the popes defended, or enlarged their dominions, sword in hand. With more riches they are less powerful; they have neither generals nor armies, and pursuing now, for two hundred years, a plan of peaceful politics, they generally receive law from the army which is nearest their dominions. Some years ago cardinal Alberoni wanted to remedy this weakness, by proposing to establish an Italic body, of which the pope was to be the head, as we see in Germany that the emperor is at the head of the Germanic body: but this project was too comprehensive to screen them from the calamities to which a neutral and defenceless country is exposed by the fortune of war.

As to the neutrality of the king of Naples, it turned out thus: the eighteenth of August they were astonished to see within sight of the port of Naples an English squadron, consisting of six ships of sixty guns, with six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Commodore Martin, who commanded this squadron, dispatched an officer on shore with a letter

letter to the chief minister, which contained in substance that the king must withdraw his troops from the Spanish army, or that very instant he would bombard the town. Upon this some conferences were held; but the English captain at length said, that he should give them only an hour to determine. The port was but ill provided with artillery; nor had they taken any precautions against an insult which they never expected: then they perceived that the ancient maxim, *viz. He who is master at sea, is also master by land*, is often true. They were obliged to sign every thing that the English commodore desired, and even to observe this treaty thus signed, till they had time to provide for the defence and security of the port and kingdom.

The English themselves were sensible that the king of Naples could no longer abide by this forced neutrality in Italy, than the king of England had observed his in Germany. The duke of Montemar, who was come into Italy in order to make a conquest of Lombardy, was now retiring towards the kingdom of Naples, still hard pressed by the Austrians. At this very juncture the king of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his duchy of Savoy, where the vicissitudes of war rendered his presence necessary. The infant don Philip had in vain attempted to land some more forces at Genoa; the English fleet kept such a good look out, as
to

to render it impracticable; upon which he resolved to march his army into the duchy of Savoy, and to take possession of that country. Having accordingly executed his design, the magistrates of Chamberry yielded homage to him; when he forced the inhabitants, upon pain of death, not to hold the least correspondence with their old master. King Charles Emmanuel passes the Alps with twenty thousand men, and the infant, who had hardly two thousand, was obliged to relinquish his conquest, and to retire into Dauphiné, where he waited for reinforcements. As soon as these were arrived, the Spaniards made themselves masters of Savoy a second time: this is almost an open country on the side of Dauphiné, a country both poor and barren, from whence the sovereign hardly receives a million of livres annual revenue. Charles Emmanuel abandoned it now to the Spaniards, in order to defend other provinces of greater importance.

From this sketch it appears that all the contending powers were in constant alarm, and experienced a continual vicissitude from the further end of Silesia to the extremity of Italy. Austria at that time was in open war only with Bavaria and Spain; Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome were neuter; the people of the duchies of Milan, Mantua, Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, looked upon all these irruptions and commotions with

with an impotent concern, long accustomed to be a prey to the conqueror, without even presuming to give him either their exclusion or their vote. The court of Spain applied to the Swiss to grant leave for the Spanish troops to march through their territory into Italy, but it was refused. The Swiss sell their men to the different princes of Europe, and yet defend their country against them; the government is pacific, and the people warlike; so that such a neutrality as theirs was respected. Venice raised twenty thousand men in order to give a weight to her neutrality.

All Germany seemed indifferent in the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Even the elector of Cologne did not presume to take the part of his brother the emperor, being afraid of the duke of Modena's fate. It is true Hanover embraced one side, but as a country subject to the king of England, and whose troops were in British pay. Besides, the German princes who let out their troops for hire were still looked upon as neuter. The territories of the empire, through which the contending armies marched, were seldom plundered. The French paid ready money for every thing; the Austrians gave notes; and England and Holland still preserved an outward appearance of peace with France. There was an English consul at Naples, a French minister at Turin, and even at Vienna, and those
states

states had theirs at Paris; but at the bottom the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin, were using their utmost endeavours to shake the foundation of the French monarchy.

England solicited Holland more than ever to declare war, and France omitted no pains to prevent such a declaration. This little republic might at that time have enjoyed the glory of being the umpire betwixt the houses of Bourbon and of Austria; it was her interest, and it would have been noble in her to have taken that step; but the English faction, which was now uppermost at the Hague, prevailed over the moderate party, and Holland missed the only opportunity they will ever have, of acting a grander part than any power in Europe. It often happens that a single man shews more judgment than a whole senate and people, in times of factions and general prejudices. M. Van Hoy, ambassador from the states general to the court of France, constantly represented to them that the character of mediators was the only one that suited their interest and glory; that if they took a contrary resolution, they would certainly repent it when too late. But the faction, then predominant at the Hague, grew incensed at his counsels, and sent him such orders as before were never heard, not to insert any more reflexions in his letters. Those who were sticklers for a war caused his letters to be printed in Holland in order to expose them to ridicule, as
if

if they appeared rather to be the exhortations of a philosopher than the papers of an ambassador; but they only published their own condemnation.

There were indeed some few members of the states general who thought and who spoke like this minister, but very little attention was paid them; the word *liberty* alone, the remembrance of Lewis XIV's irruption, and the hopes of reducing the power of his successor, inflamed their minds. One would not think it at all probable, that in the present age we live in there should have been an attempt to revive the customs and manners of ancient Greece: and yet this we saw at that time in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friseland to the states general, composed some allegorical poems in order to excite the nation against the king of France. These pieces contained a great many beautiful strokes; and the author had the art of enriching his language, and of rendering it harmonious which indeed it greatly wanted. His verses, though sublime and allegorical, were understood by the people, because they were natural, and the allegory was clear: they were read even in the villages, and in the midst of the public squares after divine service; and the readers were liberally paid by the people, as had been formerly the case with Homer's rhapsodists. Nothing contributed more than

this to inflame the Dutch. It had been proposed to augment the troops of the republic to the number of twenty thousand, in order to send effectual succours to the queen of Hungary; but the deputies of Amsterdam still were wavering. In this situation they received a letter from a quarter of the town which is called *le Jourdain*, and has been always very tumultuous: the letter was couched very near in these terms: *Messieurs du Jourdain give notice to messieurs the deputies, that probably they may have their throats cut, unless they consent to the raising of twenty thousand men.* In fact, this augmentation was ordered some months after*, and the Dutch had then an army of fourscore thousand men.

There was no appearance as yet that the united provinces were to have a stadtholder; this prince's party was gathering strength, though under hand: it was easy to foresee that the same people who so loudly cried out for war, and who forced their governors to augment the troops, might one day oblige them to chuse themselves a master. But the magistrates most devoted to the English faction, though determined for a war, were still more so for the preservation of their authority: They had greater apprehensions of a stadtholder than of the arms of France. This appeared very plainly in the promotion

* 2d of March, 1743.

of the month of September, 1742, for notwithstanding the pressing instances of the provinces of Groningen and Friseland, who desired that the prince of Orange should be named general of foot, the states made him only a lieutenant general. The prince with indignation rejected the title.

In this violent situation were all those powers at the beginning of the year 1743. when cardinal Fleury, after having been obliged, in a very advanced old age, and notwithstanding his pacific character, to throw Europe into a combustion, quitted the stage, leaving the affairs of the French nation in such a crisis, as indeed interrupted that series of prosperity which he had enjoyed all his life, but did not disturb the tranquility of his mind. He was ninety years and seven months old: and if we do but reflect, that; by the exactest calculations, out of one hundred and forty cotemporaries, not above one according to the course of nature comes to the age of fourscore, the cardinal ought to be considered as a happy man. But if we reflect further, that of those who arrive at this great age, seldom one in a thousand preserves a sufficient vigour of body and mind for the management of affairs; and, in fine, if we recollect that the Cardinal began his function of prime minister at the age of seventy three, that is, at a stage when the greatest part of mankind retire from business; we must allow that no man

ever finished a more extraordinary or more happy career.

As his good fortune was singular, so was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes continued to wear a cordelier's habit, but had the riches of a sovereign, and levied armies at his own expence. Cardinal Amboise wanted the triple crown. Wolfey in his disgrace bewailed the condition to which he was reduced, of being attended upon the road by no more than 180 domestics. Every body knows the pomp and pride of cardinal Richlieu, and the immense wealth left by Mazarin. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left to distinguish him but his modesty; born to no fortune, and supported merely by the generosity of one of his uncles, he spent what he received in good natured offices. When he came to be minister, his whole revenue consisted of sixty thousand livres arising from too benefices, of twenty thousand from his place in council, and fifteen thousand on the post-office; the half of which he expended in private charities, and with the other half he kept a moderate house and frugal table. His whole furniture did not amount to above the value of two thousand crowns.

This simplicity, which contributed to his reputation and fortune, was not the consequence of any extraordinary resolution; men seldom keep those resolutions so long. In this manner he had always lived, entirely employed

employed in rendering himself agreeable to society, and in distinguishing himself by those agreeable qualities which so well suited his character. When he was at court as almoner to madame the dauphiness, he gained the good will of every body. His conversation was sweet and agreeable; supported by pleasant anecdotes, now and then enlivened by a pleasant raillery, which, far from being offensive, had something flattering in its nature. He wrote as he spoke; there are still some short letters of his remaining, which were penned fifteen days before his death, and plainly prove that he preserved this pleasant vivacity to the very last. All the ladies at court were full of his praises, and yet none of the men were jealous. Lewis XIV. refused him a bishoprick a long time. I heard the cardinal tell the story himself, that when at length he obtained the bishoprick of Frejus, after he had lost all expectations of it, the king said to him: *I have made you wait somewhat longer, because you had too many friends who were soliciting for you, and I was willing to have the satisfaction that you should be indebted to nobody but to myself.*

Though he had a great number of what we commonly call friends, yet it was neither his principle nor his inclination to lavish wantonly his friendship. Thus he bestowed only the outward appearances of it, but in such a manner as included no violent fond-

ness nor imposition; and he knew how to conciliate the affections of the generality, without ever trusting his secret to any body.

He resigned his bishoprick as soon as he was able, after he had eased it of debts by his œconomy, and done a vast deal of good by his spirit of reconciliation. These were the two predominant parts of his character. The reason he gave to the people of his diocese was his bad state of health, which rendered him quite unfit to attend his flock. It is for this very reason that in the time of the regency he refused the archbishopric of Rheims, which was offered him by the duke of Orleans. When marshal Villars pressed him to accept of it, he answered, *that it would not become him to have health sufficient to govern the archbishopric of Rheims, when he had not enough to direct the diocese of Frejus.*

This bishopric of Frejus was at a great distance from the court, and in a country not over and above agreeable; for which reason he never liked it. He used to say that as soon as he saw his wife, he repented his marriage; and in one of his pleasant humours he subscribed himself in a letter to cardinal Quirini, *Fleury by divine indignation bishop of Frejus.*

He resigned this bishopric towards the beginning of 1715. The court of Rome well informed with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of other kingdoms, seemed convinced that the voluntary and absolute sacrifice

crifice of this bishopric must have been founded on the design of making him preceptor to the dauphin. Pope Clement XI. had so little doubt about it, that he mentioned it publicly; and indeed marshal Villeroi after a great many solicitations, prevailed on Lewis XIV. to name the bishop of Frejus to that office by a codicil. And yet the new preceptor explains himself about this matter to cardinal Quirini in the following manner.

More than once have I regretted the loss of my solitude of Frejus. At my arrival I was informed that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honour to nominate me preceptor to his great grandson. Had he been in a capacity to hear me, I should have begged of him to ease me of a burden which makes me tremble; but after his death they would not so much as listen to me: the concern has disordered me very much, and I am quite disconsolate for the loss of my liberty.

He comforted himself however in forming his pupil insensibly to business, to secrecy, to honour; and in all the agitations of the court, during the minority, he preserved the regent's good will, and the general esteem; never putting himself forward, never complaining, never exposing himself to denials, nor entering into intrigues; but all this time he secretly informed himself concerning the internal administration of the kingdom, and the policy of foreign nations.

The circumspection of his conduct, his good sense, and engaging manner, made France desirous to see him at the head of affairs; where at length he was placed by particular circumstances whether he would or not; and his conduct in that high station clearly proved that lenity and patience are the qualifications most requisite for human government. His administration was less envied and less opposed than that of Richlieu or of Mazarin, even in their happiest days. His place made no sort of alteration in his manners. It was a subject of surprize that the prime minister should be without exception the most amiable and at the same the most disinterested of any person at court. The welfare of the state agreed a long time with his moderation; the public had need of that peace which he was so fond of, and all the foreign ministers believed that in his life time it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared in 1725 at the congress of Soissons, the several ministers looked upon him as their father, a title which many princes and even the emperor Charles VI. sometimes gave him in their letters. At length in 1733 they presumed too much on the reputation he bore of being a pacific man. The high chancellor at Vienna publickly declared they might act as they pleased against king Stanislaus, for the cardinal would bear it. Being forced then into a war, he managed it with prudence and
success,

success, and made a happy end of it. The treaty indeed satisfied neither Spain nor Savoy, but it gave Lorrain to France; and when we are to chuse whether we are to serve our allies or our country, there is not the least room to hesitate.

Thus without having any grand project he did some grand things, by following such measures as naturally led to the events. His tranquil character made him fear, and even undervalue persons of deep and active capacities, who he pretended were never quiet: but as this active spirit is generally attended with abilities, he kept all such at too a great a distance. He had a greater distrust of men than desire of knowing them: his age and character led him to think that there were no more men of genius in France in whatever branch, and even if there were, that he might do without them, and that it was a matter of great indifference what persons he employed. The oeconomy which he observed in his own private family he would fain have introduced into the public administration. This was the cause of his neglecting to maintain a powerful navy. He did not imagine that the state would have any need of a fleet against the English, whom he had long amused with his negotiations; but negotiations alter, while a navy continues. The principle of his administration was to observe a regularity in the finances, and to let France recover of herself,

like a robust body which has felt some disorder, and wants nothing but diet and temperance.

These are the very words he made use of in answer to a grand project of innovation in the finances; and indeed the national commerce left to itself was very flourishing while the peace lasted, but not being supported by maritime forces equal to those of the English, it declined very much during the great war of 1741.

His administration was not distinguished by any new settlement, by pompous monuments, or by any of those magnificent institutions which strike the eyes of the public: but moderation, simplicity, uniformity, and prudence are virtues that will transmit his name to future ages.

To conclude, the most peaceful of all ministers was dragged into the most violent quarrel; and a minister the most sparing of the treasures of France, was obliged to squander them away upon a war, which in his time proved very unfortunate.

The king was present at his last moments, when he wept over him, and brought the dauphin into his apartment; but as they kept this young prince at some distance from the bed of the dying person, the cardinal desired them to bring him nearer. *It is fit,* said he, *that he be accustomed to such sights as these.* At length, after having lived ninety years, he met death undaunted.

C H A P. VI.

Melancholy situation of the emperor Charles VII. Loss of the battle of Dettingen. The French army, which was sent to the emperor's assistance in Bavaria, deserts him.

N O sooner had cardinal Fleury departed this life, than the king, who had informed himself concerning the several branches of the administration, even in the minutest particulars, took the reins of government into his own hands. He was then fully determined to accept of an honourable peace, or vigorously to prosecute a necessary war; and whatever might happen, inviolably to keep his word.

He made no change in the measures already taken; the same generals commanded.

It is pretended by some, that the mistakes, which occasioned the loss of Bohemia and Bavaria the preceding year, were repeated in 1743; that the forces of France and Bavaria mouldered away of themselves, being divided into too many separate bodies. The misfortunes of the French began with the mortality which seized their troops in Bavaria: it often happens that an army loses more men by inaction than by military toil; and one of the principal cares of a general should

should be to prevent the spreading of sickness among his men. The French soldiers spent the end of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded one upon another in German stoves; and this alone destroyed a great number. But what hurt their affairs the most of all, was the misunderstanding betwixt marshal Broglio and count Seckendorf, who at that time commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who had prince Charles to deal with, wanted the French general to send him reinforcements, which would have weakened his army; and marshal Broglio being employed against prince Lobkowitz, frequently refused to comply with his desire. The emperor who was then at Munich could not reconcile them. In the public papers it was said that he had forty thousand men, but he had not really more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles having drawn all his forces together, towards the river Inn, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Braunaw, over the Bavarians, where he destroyed a body of eight thousand men, and took general Minuzzi prisoner, with three other general officers. The scattered remains of the Bavarian army retired to Braunaw; and the whole electorate was soon open to the Austrians. Mary Terefa was apprized of this news the very day she was crowned at Prague, where her rival had been crowned

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ed so short a time before. There was now no army to oppose the progress of prince Charles; so that he made himself master of Dengilfing, Deckendorf, and Landaw upon the Isser, in all which places he took a number of prisoners.

On the other side Prince Lobkowitz penetrated into the upper Palatinate, and marshal Broglio retired towards Ingolstadt. The emperor was then obliged to fly once more from his capital; and to seek for shelter in Augsburg, an imperial city. But here he did not stay long: as he quitted the town he had the mortification to see Mentzel enter at the head of his Pandours, who had the brutality to insult him in the streets; from thence he took refuge in Frankfort. All these events followed close upon one another in the months of May and June.

As this prince's misfortunes multiplied every day, he was reduced to the melancholy condition of imploring pity of this very queen of Hungary whom he had been so near dethroning; in short he offered to renounce all his pretensions to the inheritance of the house of Austria. The hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel charged himself with this negotiation, and waited upon the king of England, who was then at Hanover, with the emperor's proposals. King George made answer that he would consult his parliament. This very negotiation of the prince of Hesse only served to convince Charles VII. that his enemies had conceived

conceived a design to dethrone him. Finding this step ineffectual, he took the resolution of declaring himself neuter in his own cause, and desired the queen of Hungary to let him leave the shattered remains of his army in Suabia, where they should be considered as troops belonging to the empire. He offered at the same time to send marshal Broglio's army back into France. The queen replied, *that she was not at war with the head of the empire, since according to the disposition of the golden bull which had been violated at his election, she had never acknowledged him as emperor; that she would therefore attack his troops wherever she met them; yet she would not hinder him from taking shelter within the territories of the empire, excepting the electorate of Bavaria.*

At this same time the earl of Stairs was advancing towards Frankfort, with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, composed of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived there with his second son the duke of Cumberland, after passing by Frankfort, the asylum of that same emperor whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign, and against whom he waged war with hopes of dispossessing him of his throne.

The Dutch at length consented to join the confederate armies with twenty thousand men, thinking the time was now come when they might take this step, without running any risk, and that they might crush the French

French without a declaration of war. They sent six thousand men into Flanders, to replace the Austrian garrisons, and prepared fourteen thousand men for Germany; but very slowly, according to the genius of their republic. At that time they believed at the Hague, at Vienna, and at London, that France was exhausted of men and money; or they pretended so to believe. One of the principal members of the republic affirmed, that France could not bring above an hundred thousand men into the field, and that she had not above two hundred millions of livres in current specie. This was misrepresenting things strangely; but it was likewise exciting the people, who must often be deceived.

However the king of France sent marshal Noailles at the head of sixty six battalions and one hundred and thirty eight squadrons, with orders to attack the English wherever he found them: at the same time he determined to lend succours to Don Philip in Italy, in case the king of Sardinia refused coming to an agreement. Towards the Danube he had still a complete army of sixty six battalions and a hundred and fifteen squadrons, which were at hand to relieve Egra on the one side, or Bavaria on the other. He faced about on every side, tho' he was only an auxiliary; while the emperor, who was now withdrawn from Augsburg to Frankfort,

fort, saw his fate depending on the success of his allies or of his enemies.

This prince's quarrel, and those which it gave rise to, employed ten armies all at the same time, five in Germany, and five in Italy. In the first place there was in Germany marshal Broglio's army which defended Bavaria: it consisted in the main of all those regiments which had escaped from Bohemia, and of the half of marshal Bellisle's troops, which in conjunction with the Bavarians composed a formidable army. The second was that commanded by prince Charles, which pressed hard upon marshal Broglio, and was ravaging Bavaria. The third was that of marshal Noailles towards the Rhine, augmented likewise by the troops and recruits of marshal Bellisle: against him were the Hanoverians and Austrians united, to the number of above fifty thousand men, which made the fourth army under king George the second: the fifth was that of the fourteen thousand Dutch, who were advancing slowly towards the Maine, in order to join the English too late.

The five armies in Italy were, that of the infant Don Philip which had subdued Savoy. That of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the passage of the Alps, and the other had joined the Austrians. This Austrian army reached from the Milanese to the neighbourhood of Bologna. These were opposed by count Gages, a Fleming by birth, whose merit

merit had raised him to the command of the Spanish army, in the place of the duke of Montemar. The fifth was that of Naples, which was withheld from acting, by a neutrality just then expiring. To these ten armies we might add an eleventh, namely that of Venice, which was raised only to guard against all the rest. All these great preparations held Europe in suspense. This was a game which the princes kept playing from one end of Europe to the other, thus hazarding almost upon equal terms the blood and the property of their people, and balancing fortune for a long time by a compensation of exploits, mistakes and losses. It is very difficult to gain ground in Italy; for on the side of Piedmont, a single rock may cost a whole army, and towards Lombardy the country is intersected with rivers and canals.

Count Gages had passed the Panaro, and attacked count Traun: these two generals fought a battle in February at Campo Santo, for which *Te Deum* was sung at Madrid and at Vienna; and this battle, which cost the lives of many brave soldiers on both sides, procured no advantage to either; but in Germany they expected something more decisive.

The marshal duke de Noailles, who commanded the army against the king of England, had bore arms since he was fifteen years of age: he had also commanded in Catalonia

Catalonia, and passed thro' all the offices that can be served under a government. He had the direction of the finances at the beginning of the regency. Thus he was a general and a minister of state; and in all these employments he had constantly cultivated polite learning, an example formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but very little followed at present in Europe. This general by a particular operation gained a superiority in the field. He kept along side the king of England's army, who had the Maine betwixt him and the French; and he cut off their provisions by making himself master of all the passes both above and below their camp.

The king of England's head quarters were at Aschaffenburg, a town belonging to the elector of Mentz. He had taken this step contrary to the opinion of his general the earl of Stairs, which he had reason to repent; for his army was now blocked up and almost starved by marshal Noailles; and the soldiers were reduced to half allowance. The king found himself at length under a necessity of retreating, in order to seek provisions at Hanau in the road to Frankfort; but in his retreat he was exposed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, which were erected along the banks of the Maine. Thus he was obliged to make a precipitate march with

with an army weakened by want * and whose rear might be cut off by the French: for marshal Noailles had the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg on the road to Hanau; and to the mistakes already committed, the English added this of letting them erect those bridges. The twenty-sixth of June, in the middle of the night, the king of England gave orders for his army to decamp without beat of drum, when he ventured upon this precipitate and dangerous but necessary march.

Count Noailles, who encamped along the Maine, was the first that perceived it, and immediately sent word to his father. The marshal rose, and saw the English on their march in this dangerous road betwixt a mountain and a river. Upon which he instantly orders thirty squadrons, composed of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English were to pass; and he caused four brigades of infantry with that of the French guards to march over two bridges. These troops had particular directions to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on this side of a hol-

* They were in so great a distress for want of forage, that it was proposed to hamstring the horses, and they would have done it, had they continued two days longer in this situation.

low way, where they were not perceived by the English, while the marshal saw every step the enemy took. M. de Valiere, lieutenant general, a person who had carried the service of the artillery as far as it could go, held the enemy thus in a defile between two batteries which kept playing upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass thro' a hollow way between Dettingen and a little rivulet; the French were not to fall upon them but with undoubted advantage in the situation of the ground; so that a snare was laid for them, and the king of England himself was in danger of being taken. In short, this was one of those critical moments which might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont lieutenant general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in this position, till the enemy fell into his hands. In the mean time he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and the better to discover the situation of the enemy. Most of the officers said that it would have been better, if he had continued at the head of his army, to enforce his orders and make himself obeyed: but had the day proved fortunate, this mistake would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to take possession of the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were hemmed in on every side.

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All these measures were disconcerted by one single moment of impatience. The duke of Grammont thought that the enemy's first column had passed, and that he had only to fall upon a rear-guard, incapable of making any resistance : with this view he made his troops pass the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage ; and the count de Noailles earnestly desired him to wait for his father's return. The duke of Grammont, whose motions were now perceived by the English, thought he ought not to turn back : he therefore quitted the advantageous situation, where he should have remained, and advanced with the regiment of guards and Noailles's regiment of foot into a small plain called the cock-pit. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed : their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men ; to oppose whom there were only thirty squadrons, and five brigades of infantry. By this step, the French who had laid a snare for the enemy, fell into it themselves ; they attacked the English in great disorder, and with unequal forces. The batteries which M. de Valiere had erected along the Maine, raked the enemy in flank, and especially the Hanoverians ; but these had their batteries also, which fired against the front of the French troops. The advantage of cannon, so considerable a thing in an engagement, did not last

last long; for the artillery on the banks of the Maine was soon prevented from firing, because in the confusion it must have annoyed the French themselves. The marshal returned at the very moment this mistake had been committed; but it was too late to remedy it, and all he had now to depend upon was the ardour and bravery of the troops.

At the very first onset the king's household troops and the carabiniers broke through two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry; but those lines immediately closed and surrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a very inconsiderable body of infantry; one and twenty of those officers were killed upon the spot, as many dangerously wounded, and the regiment of guards was entirely routed.

The duke of Chartres, the prince of Clermont, the Count d'Eu, the duke de Penthièvre, notwithstanding his great youth, exerted all their endeavours to put a stop to the disorder. Count Noailles had two horses killed under him; and his brother the duke d'Ayen was thrown to the ground.

The marquis of Puisegur son of the marshal of that name, spoke to the soldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied all he could, and with his own hand killed some who would not fight any longer, but cried out *save himself who can*. The princes and dukes

dukes of Biron, Luxembourg, Boufflers, Chevreuse, Pequigny, put themselves at the head of the brigades they met with, and plunged into the enemy's lines.

On the other hand the king's household troops and the carabiniers were not dismayed : here one might see a company of guards and two hundred musketeers ; there a few companies of cavalry advancing with the light horse ; with others following the carabiniers or horse grenadiers, and riding full gallop upon the English with more bravery than discipline. And indeed there was so little observed, that about fifty musketeers transported by their courage, forced their way through a regiment of horse, called the *Scotch Greys*, a corps renowned in England, and composed of all picked men, extremely well mounted. We may imagine what could fifty young men do, mounted on middling horses, against a body so superior in number. They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners ; the marquis of Fenelon's son was taken in the very last rank of the regiment of *Greys*. Seven and twenty officers of the king's household troops perished in this engagement, and sixty six were dangerously wounded. The count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Biron, and the duke of Boufflers were wounded. The count de la Motte-Houdancourt, first gentleman usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him, was a long time trod

trod under foot by the horses, and carried off almost dead. The marquis de Gontaud had his arm broken; the duke de Rochecouart, first lord of the chamber, having been twice wounded, and still continuing to fight, was killed on the spot. The marquisses de Sabran and de Fleury, the count d'Estrade, and the count de Roostaing, were among the number of the slain.

Amidst all the singularities of this fatal day, we ought not to omit the death of a count of Boufflers, of the branch of Remiencourt. This was only a child of ten years and a half old, whose leg was shattered by a cannon ball; he received the wound, saw his leg cut off, and died with equal undauntedness. So much youth with so much courage drew tears from all the spectators.

The loss was very near as great among the English officers. The king of England fought on foot and on horseback, sometimes at the head of his cavalry, and sometimes at the head of his infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded in the leg; the duke of Aremberg, who commanded the Austrians, was wounded by a musket ball on the upper part of his breast; and the English lost some general officers. The battle lasted three hours: but the terms were very unequal; courage alone was engaged against valour, number, and discipline. At length marshal Noailles ordered
a retreat,

a retreat, which was accordingly made, though not without some confusion. The king of England dined on the field of battle, from whence he afterwards retired without giving time to his troops to carry off all his wounded; about six hundred of them were left behind, whom my lord Stairs recommended to the generosity of marshal Noailles. The French treated them as their own countrymen. These two nations behaved to each other with humanity and respect; whereas the Hungarians, a less civilized people, had shewn during the whole course of this war, a spirit of barbarity and rapine.

Letters passed between the two generals, which are a convincing proof how far politeness and humanity may be carried amidst the horrors of war. My lord Stairs wrote from Hanau to the marshal, the 30th of June, these very words: *I have sent back all the French prisoners that I had any knowledge of, and have given orders that those who are in the hands of the Hanoverians shall be released. Give me leave to return you my thanks for your generous behaviour, which is entirely agreeable to the sentiments I have always professed to entertain for the duke of Noailles. I am obliged to you, Sir, for the care you have so generously taken of our wounded.*

This greatness of mind was not particular to the earl of Stairs and the duke of Noailles: the duke of Cumberland did also

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an act of generosity which deserves to be transmitted to posterity. A musketeer named Girardeau, who had been dangerously wounded, was brought near the duke's tent : they wanted surgeons, and those they had were extremely busy ; at this very instant they were going to dress the duke, who had been wounded in the calf of his leg by a musket ball. *Begin*, said the prince, *with dressing that French officer's wound ; he is more hurt than I ; perhaps he may want assistance, which cannot be my case.* In other respects the loss was pretty equal in both armies. On the side of the allies there were two thousand two hundred and thirty one killed and wounded. This was the calculation given by the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, or exaggerate that of their enemy.

This battle was very like that of Czaflau in Bohemia, or of Campo Santo in Italy. Both sides shewed great bravery ; there was a great deal of blood spilt ; and neither reaped any advantage. The French lost a great deal in frustrating one of the best dispositions that ever was made, by their precipitate ardour and want of discipline, which formerly made them lose the battles of Poitiers and Creci. The king of England gained great honour ; but all the advantage he acquired was precipitately to quit the field of battle, in order to seek provisions at Hanau. The writer of this history having met my lord Stairs some weeks after the battle,

tle, took the liberty to ask him what he thought of the affair of Dettingen: *I think*, said this general, *that you committed one mistake, and we two; yours was the passing the hollow way, and not having patience to wait; ours was first exposing ourselves to destruction, and then not making a proper use of our victory.*

None had greater reason to complain than marshal Noailles. He saw himself robbed of the glory of this day, by an inconsiderate ardour; which perhaps would have put an end to the war, and yet he complained of no body; he accused no body. His friendship for his nephew prevailed over the care of his own justification: he contented himself with writing a wise, eloquent, and instructive letter to the king, wherein he represented the extreme necessity of reestablishing the military discipline.

After this engagement, a great many French and English officers went to Frankfurt, a neutral city, where the emperor was then retired, and where he saw my lord Stairs and marshal Noailles, one after the other, without being able to express any other sentiments to them than those of extreme patience under his misfortunes.

The precipitate retreat which marshal Broglie was making at the same time from the frontiers of Bavaria, was yet more fatal to the emperor than the loss of the battle of Dettingen. This general had been long

dissatisfied with marshal Seckendorff, who commanded the Bavarians; and he had always declared even before the campaign, that he was not able to keep Bavaria. He set out from thence towards the end of June, just when the emperor, finding himself no longer in safety at Aufburg, was retired to Frankfort, where he arrived the evening of the 27th, the very day the battle was fought,

Marshal Noailles found the emperor terribly vexed at Broglio's retreat, and to complete his misfortunes, destitute of means of supporting his family in this imperial city, where no body would advance a shilling to the head of the empire. The marshal gave him forty thousand crowns upon a letter of credit, being very certain that this act would not be disapproved of by the king his master,

Marshal Broglio, at the time of his retreating, left the emperor in possession of Straubing, of Ingolstadt on the Danube, and of Egra on the Eger, upon the borders of the upper Palatinate, which were all three blocked up. There were likewise some Bavarian troops in Braunaw, which the Austrians masters of all the adjacent country*, had for a long time neglected to besiege in form; but it soon capitulated. Straubing which had a garrison of twelve

* July 4.

hundred men, quickly followed this example. These twelve hundred men were conducted to the main army, which was abandoning Bavaria and marching towards the Neckar. Here they arrived at length, but diminished at least by five and twenty thousand, of whom they had been deprived by desertions, and especially by sickness, more than by the enemy's sword.

The point was now no longer, to put the emperor Charles VII. in possession of Vienna or Prague : they were obliged to come back, in order to defend the frontiers of France against two armies ; one commanded by prince Charles, the other by the king of England ; and both victorious. In three campaigns the French had sent above a hundred and twenty thousand men into Bavaria and Bohemia, to the emperor's assistance of all these troops marshal Broglio brought back about thirty thousand. The emperor, in the utmost despair, insisted on the king's sending Broglio into banishment ; and the king thought this satisfaction due to that prince's complaints, and this weak and useless consolation to his misfortunes.

So many repeated attempts having all proved ineffectual in this grand enterprize, one would think there must have been some radical defect which rendered them all abortive. Perhaps this radical defect proceeded from this, that as the Bavarian emperor had no strong towns, nor good troops

in his dominions, and as he had only a foreign and strained authority over the French troops, and by his bad state of health was rendered incapable of pushing on the war vigorously against an enemy who was every day growing more powerful; all this was of very great prejudice to his affairs. To begin such enterprizes, a person should be able to act by himself; for never did any prince make a conquest of importance, merely by another's assistance.

CHAP. VII

Fresh misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. New treaty between his enemies. Lewis XV. supports at the same time the emperor, don Philip infant of Spain, and prince Charles who attempts to ascend the throne of his ancestors in England. Battle of Toulon.

THE emperor continued in Frankfort, in appearance without either allies or foes, or even without subjects. For the queen had exacted an oath of allegiance from all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the upper Palatinate. The Bavarian emperor protested in Frankfort against this oath required of his subjects*. A printer of the

* August 22, 1743.

town of Stadamhof was hanged in the public market place, for printing this protest made by his sovereign. But their outrages did not stop here: the council of Austria, some time after, caused memorials to be presented, even in the town of Frankfort, to the imperial diet, in which the election of Charles VII. was treated as *null and absolutely void*. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, and who had been raised to this dignity in spite of the emperor, registred these pieces in the protocol of the empire. Charles VII. could only complain, which he did by his rescripts; but to complete his misery, the king of England, in quality of elector of Hanover, wrote to him, that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were in the right. In fine, they talked of obliging him to resign the imperial crown to the duke of Tuscany.

In the mean time the emperor having declared himself neuter, while they were stripping him of his dominions, the king of France, who had taken up arms upon his account, had much more reason to declare that he would not any longer concern himself in the affairs of the empire. This is what he solemnly did by his ministers at Ratisbon, so early as the 26th of July. At any other time such a disposition might have produced a general peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their advantage.

These powers pretended to oblige the emperor to desire that the grand duke his enemy should be king of the Romans; and they flattered themselves with the hopes of penetrating into Alsace and Lorrain. In this manner was an offensive war, which first began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine.

Prince Charles of Lorrain had made a lodgement the fourth of August, in an isle of this river, near old Brisac: on the other side different parties of Hussars had penetrated beyond the Sarre, and attacked the frontiers of Lorrain. This same Mentzel, who was the first that took Munich, had the insolence to spread under the name of declaration or manifesto, a writing, addressed the twentieth of August to the provinces of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche-Comte, and the three bishoprics; wherein he invited the people, in the name of the queen of Hungary, to return, if I may use his terms, to their allegiance to the house of Austria; he likewise threatened such of the inhabitants as should take up arms against that house, to hang them without mercy, after first obliging them to cut off their noses and ears with their own hands. Such brutal ferocity excited nothing but contempt; the frontiers were well guarded; and a detachment of prince Charles's army having passed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, the fourth of August, by count Berenger.

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The army under marshal Noailles encamped in the neighbourhood of Spire, at the end of July. Count Maurice of Saxony was in upper Alsace with the remains of Broglio's army, and some troops drawn from the frontier towns. The duke of Harcourt commanded on the Moselle, and the marquis of Montal guarded Lorrain. To defend these frontiers was not enough: an open war was foreseen with the king of England, and likewise with the king of Sardinia, who had not indeed as yet concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, yet was as closely united with that court, as if such a treaty had been signed.

France then deserted by Prussia, Lewis XV. was just in the same case as his great grandfather, united with Spain against the forces of a new house of Austria, of England, Holland, and Savoy. To oppose such a confederacy, he ordered several men of war to be built and fitted out at Brest, he increased his land forces, and sent about twelve thousand men to the assistance of don Philip; a very inconsiderable succour in comparison of the troops which he had lavished away upon the Bavaria emperor; but of more real service, because it was to assist a young prince who expected his establishment from the forces of Spain. The king, not content with aiding his allies, and protecting his frontiers, wanted to put himself at the head of his army in Alsace, and

had prepared his field equipages for that purpose. He acquainted marshal Noailles with his design, who answered him in these very words: *Your affairs are neither in so prosperous nor so declining a way as to justify your majesty's taking this step.* He alledged several other arguments, which satisfied the king, who was determined however to make the next campaign.

Of the various conquests which France had made in favour of the emperor, there remained now only Egra in Bohemia, and Ingolstadt on the Danube in Bavaria.

The extremities to which the French were reduced in Egra, were become more severe than those which they had suffered at Prague. They had hardly tasted any bread for above eight months; and the soldiers that ventured out to gather a little pulse in the country, were sure to be killed by the Pandours. They had neither provisions, nor money, nor hopes of succour. The marquis of Herouville, who commanded in the town, with six battalions, caused some obfidential money to be coined, the use of which began first at the siege of Pavia under Francis I: that which they coined at Egra was half sous of Pewter. This metal however might supply the want of silver, but could not remedy that of provisions. It is true the marquis of Desalleurs sent from Saxony a convoy of provisions to Egra, but they fell into the hands of the besiegers; so that

that the French * were at length obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The officers and soldiers were dispersed in different parts of Bohemia and Austria, where they found a great many of their countrymen. There were above nine thousand in all, who had been taken in the course of three years: they were very cruelly used; the spirit of revenge combining with the rigour of war, and the ancient antipathy of the two nations,

Those who defended Ingolstadt met with a better fate. M. de Grandville, who commanded the garrison of that fortress, consisting of about three thousand men, not only obtained a free retreat, but likewise insisted that general Bernklau, who besieged the town, should give the French, who were scattered in the parts of Bavaria under his command, free liberty to return to their own country*. This is the first instance of a garrison capitulating for the liberty of other troops.

In the mean time neither prince Charles, nor the king of England, made any progress against the French upon the Rhine; and the remainder of this campaign justified what marshal Noailles had wrote to the king, that his affairs were neither in an advantageous, nor in a desperate condition.

* 6th Sept. 1743.

† 5. Oct. 1743.

The contending powers were all fluctuating betwixt hope and fear; every one of them had losses and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the scourge of pestilence, and preparing for that of war; they had moreover some reason to be afraid of conspiracies in favour of the house of Austria. The king of Naples having increased his army to the number of about twenty six thousand men, employed twelve thousand of them in guarding the frontiers of Calabria against the Contagion, by forming a chain of a vast extent; the remainder of his army, on the frontiers of Abruzzo, waited for a favourable conjuncture to act in concert with the Spanish army of the king his father, at that time commanded by the duke of Modena, and count Gages. The city of Naples was put into a posture of defence, and no longer had any occasion to be afraid of the insulting orders of an English commodore. Don Philip was in Savoy, waiting for an opportunity, either of coming to an agreement with the king of Sardinia, or of being able to overcome him with the assistance of France. The king of Sardinia having balanced the danger and advantage on both sides, thought it his interest at length to enter into a closer connexion with Austria and England against the house of Bourbon. It was now above a year since he had joined his forces to the queen of Hungary's; for he was not as yet
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her ally: but at length he entered into an express and effectual alliance at Worms, the 13th of September 1743, an alliance in a great measure owing to the bad success of the French arms in Germany.

This prince had gained the Tortonese, Valais, a part of the Novarese, and the territorial superiority of the fiefs of Langhes, by fighting against Mary Teresa's father; and now he acquired the Vigevanasco, the remainder of the Novarese, with the duchy of Parma and Placentia, by declaring in favour of the daughter. The English, who had already given him some subsidies, by the present treaty engaged to grant him two hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. He was then at the head of an army of thirty thousand men; and the English fleet, under the command of admiral Matthews, was cruizing on the coast, in order to favour his designs. But he lost the fruit of his present advantage; and the event afterwards proved, that this ancient maxim, *the Half is worth more than the whole*, is oftentimes true.

By this treaty the queen of Hungary resigned the marquisate of Final to him, tho' it was neither his nor her property. It belonged to the Genoese, who had bought it for two hundred thousand crowns of the late emperor Charles VI. Neither was there any proper care taken to reimburse them this money; for though the king of Sardinia

dinia offered them those two hundred thousand crowns, yet he demanded at the same time that they should rebuild the castle they had demolished, which would have cost them more than the money he offered. This liberality of other people's property gained France another ally. Genoa was already in the French interest in secret ; but now it entered into a closer connection with that nation. Its harbour might be of very great service ; and the English fleet could not always lye before it. In short the king of Sardinia absolutely obliged the Genoese to become his declared enemies, and paved the way for a very dangerous diversion against himself : for at this very time don Philip having once more taken possession of Savoy, on the eighteenth of September 1742, was preparing to pass the Alps ; and the Spanish and Neapolitan armies might join in the territory of Bologna, or even in Lombardy.

The fortune of war was therefore to decide, whether the two brothers, don Carlos king of Sicily, and the infant don Philip, should penetrate to the middle of Italy ; or whether the king of Sardinia, on the one side, should guard the passage of the Alps, and on the other the queen of Hungary should be able to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, notwithstanding the neutrality still observed by her and by don Carlos.

In the mean time England and Austria depended

depended on attacking the French in Alsace and Flanders early in the spring, and preparations were making on all sides for renewing the fiercest hostilities: yet there was no declared rupture at this time, except between England and Spain, in regard to the American commerce; a rupture which seemed to have no relation, tho' it had indeed a very essential one, to the interests which divided Europe.

The emperor Charles VII. stripped of all his territories, seemed to have no resource left, while Lewis XV. was still making preparations to assist him: and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the treaty of Breslaw, and a defensive alliance betwixt him and the king of England *, was so much the more in the emperor's interest, as he could no longer doubt of the design which the court of Vienna had formed, of recovering Silesia the first opportunity. The courts of France and Prussia began then to unite once more for the common cause, and for the interests of the emperor, who seemed to have been quite abandoned by fortune, and by all the world.

In the beginning of 1744, the king of France took the resolution of declaring war against the king of England and the queen of Hungary. He had no longer any measures to keep, either with the English, who continually insulted his ships; or with Austria,

* Concluded the 18th of November 1742.

stria, who threatened to remove the seat of war into France, and who, notwithstanding a cartel in 1741, refused to return any of the French prisoners. The first fruit of this resolution was a secret and hardy enterprize, the success of which might suddenly produce a great revolution in one part of Europe.

The family of Stuart, which for the space of fifty four years, had lived in a melancholy exile, far from the kingdoms of which it had been stripped, had still a great many secret adherents in Scotland and Ireland, and even some few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II. king of England, and son of the unfortunate prince, so well known in Europe by the name of the *Pretender*, was now in the flower of his youth, and had shewn marks of the most resolute courage, heightened by the resentment of his condition. Several times had he been heard to say, that his head must either fall, or be crowned. France, which had been a long time the asylum of his family, found herself now obliged to support his cause: and Lewis XV. might probably, in his first campaign, restore the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the house of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. The young prince Edward set out from Rome the 9th of January 1744; and even in conducting his expedition acted with all the secrecy and diligence of a person born for great enterprizes. He conceal-

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ed his journey from a brother whom he tenderly loved, and who would not have consented to let him go by himself. The thirteenth he arrived at Genoa, in the disguise of a Spanish courier; where, attended by a single domestic, he embarked the next day for Antibes, and soon arrived at Paris.

The same secrecy was observed in France in carrying on the necessary preparatives for conveying the prince to the coast of Great Britain. The king had made an effort, which England little expected, considering the condition in which the French navy had been for many years. He had equipped with incredible diligence at Rochefort and Brest six and twenty men of war; and a report was ordered to be spread that this squadron was intended to join the Spanish fleet which had lain at Toulon these two years, where it was blocked up by the English fleet under the command of admiral Matthews.

In the mean time twenty ships of war, under the command of M. de Roquefeuille, with arms, ammunition, and four thousand land men on board, set sail from Brest, and arrived between the isles of Ushant and the Sorlingues, where they were joined by five more sail from the port of Rochefort, under the command of M. du Barail.

From thence the fleet entered the British channel, and divided into three squadrons. The strongest, which consisted of fourteen ships,

ships, sailed with a fair wind towards the Kentish coast; the second took its station between Calais and Boulogne; and the third advanced towards Dunkirk. Count Saxe was to have commanded that expedition: the first of March * he went on board at Dunkirk with nine battalions, the count de Chaila embarked the next day with six.

Prince Edward was on board the same ship with count Saxe, when for the first time he beheld the coast of England. But a sudden storm arose, which threw the transport ships on the French shore, where a great many soldiers were drowned attempting to get to land. The young prince was still impatient to try the passage with a single vessel; he flattered himself that his courage and resolution would raise him subjects, as soon as he set foot on the British shore: but neither the sea, nor the dispositions which they had time to make on the coast of England, would suffer him to put this hazardous design into execution.

They had received intelligence at London so early as the 15th of February of this expedition. The Dutch, in alliance with king George, had already sent him two thousand men, and were to furnish him with six thousand, according to the treaty of 1716. The English had a formidable fleet in the Downs, which form one continued harbour on the coast of Kent, where the ships are sheltered from

from tempests; and besides, the militia were armed. Thus miscarried an enterprize, conducted with more art than any plot had ever yet been in England; for king George knew indeed there had been a conspiracy, but could never discover the authors of it. From the persons who were taken up in London, the government got no insight into the matter; so that they continued as before in perplexity and mistrust.

Circumstances were extremely favourable for such an enterprize. The English troops were abroad, quartered in different parts of the Austrian Netherlands. There was likewise another advantage attending this enterprize; it employed the English fleet, part of which might have been sent to reinforce admiral Matthews: and the scheme was to fight this admiral with the men of war which France had left in the Mediterranean, joined to those of Spain, which were to come out of the harbour of Toulon, at the very time that prince Edward was to land in Great Britain.

There was at that time in Toulon a fleet of sixteen Spanish men of war, which was at first designed to escort don Philip to Italy, but for two years past had been blocked up in that harbour, by admiral Matthews's fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and insulted the whole coast of Italy and Provence. The Spanish gunners were not very expert in their art; for which reason they were exercised

exercised four months continually in firing at a point blank mark, and prizes were proposed to excite their industry and emulation.

As soon as they were become expert in their art, the Spanish squadron, commanded by don Joseph Navarro, unmoored, and got out of Toulon road. This squadron consisted only of twelve sail, the Spaniards not having a sufficient number of seamen and gunners to man the sixteen. They were immediately joined by fourteen French ships, four frigates, and three fire ships, under the command of M. de Court, who, at the age of fourscore, had all the vigor of body and mind that such a command required. Forty years were elapsed since he had been at the sea-fight off Malaga, where he served as captain on board the admiral's ship; and from that time there had been no naval engagement in any part of the world except that of Messina in 1718. Admiral Matthews got under sail to meet the combined squadrons of France and Spain. It is proper here to observe, that the degree of admiral in England does not answer to the dignity of admiral in France; and that there are three English admirals, each of whom commands a separate division of men of war, under the command of the lord high admiral, or of the board of admiralty.

Matthews's fleet consisted of forty five sail, five frigates, and four fireships: with the advantage of number, he had also that
of

Of the wind, a circumstance on which the success of sea engagements oftentimes depends, as on land it depends on an advantageous situation. The English are the first who drew up their naval forces in the order of battle observed at present; and it is of them that other nations have learnt to divide their fleets into the van, the rear, and the center. It must not be imagined, however, that these divisions are in three lines, they are only in one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the center in the middle, so that the ships never present more than one side.

In this order therefore did they fight in the battle off Toulon. The change of wind put the Spaniards in the rear. Admiral Matthews still availing himself of the advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his division. In an engagement the ships should never be above sixty fathom from each other; where there is only this distance, they are as close as they ought to be, and there is never any reason to fear that a single ship shall be attacked by many: but it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itself in such a manner as always to preserve this distance. The Spanish ships were separated too wide from each other. At the very beginning of the engagement two of their men of war were disabled by the enemy's cannon; and admiral Matthews had an opportunity of bearing down upon the Spanish
admiral

admiral with several of his ships. The vessel, on board of which don Navarro had hoisted his flag, was called the Real; it mounted one hundred and ten pieces of cannon, and had about one thousand men. It was so strong built, that the planks, with the ribs, were about three feet thick, so that in those parts it was impenetrable to a cannon ball. It is proper also to know, that the English fire more at the rigging than at the hulls of the enemy's ships, chusing rather to disable and take, than to sink them to the bottom. The Spanish admiral was attacked at the same time by the English admiral, and by four other ships of the line, which altogether made a prodigious fire. Matthews depended on making an easy capture of her, trusting to his practice in naval affairs, and the inexperience of the Spaniards; and what doubled his hopes, was Navarro's being a land officer. Each Spanish ship was thus attacked by more than one English, and of course was expected to be overpowered. Every body on deck, in the royal Philip, was either killed or wounded. The captain of the flag received a mortal wound. Don Navarro was wounded in two places, and obliged to go under deck.

A French officer, in the service of Spain, named the chevalier de Lage, second captain of the admiral's flag, maintained the engagement against five English sail. Ad-
miral

miral Matthews was surprized at the quickness with which the lower tire of the Spanish admiral fired from every side, and annoyed every ship within her reach : at length he sends a fire ship against her. These are vessels loaded with gunpowder, granadoes, and other combustible matter, which fasten themselves to the enemy's ships with grappling irons. At the instant they have grappled another vessel, they give fire to the train. The crew in a hurry take to their boat, and the captain enters it the last. In the mean time the vessel being set on flames is destroyed in an instant by the explosion of the powder, and blows up into the air, together with the vessel to which it is fastened.

This engine of destruction was within fifteen paces of the royal Philip, when some of the officers proposed striking. M. de Lage answered, *You have then forgot that I am here.* Upon which he brings three or four guns to bear, and aims them so sure, that every one takes place, and the fire ship is just ready to sink. The captain perceiving that he must inevitably perish, resolves at least to die revenged. He orders his men to give fire to the train, hoping still to be able to grapple the Real, and to blow up together in the air ; but he had not time. His vessel takes fire, and flies into a thousand shatters, within seven or eight feet of the Spanish admiral, whose deck is all covered

vered with them. M. de Lage said, that he saw the body of the English captain, and some sailors, reduced in an instant to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as cork; and yet with this violent explosion, the Real did not suffer any damage.

Monsieur de Court, who had hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*, in the center of battle, was engaged single against three ships within pistol shot. He did a great deal of mischief to the enemy; and getting clear of them, at length he came up to the assistance of the royal Philip, and of the Spanish squadron. The English all this time had been able to take only one single Spanish ship, named the *Poder*, which was entirely dismasted. They had already sent some of their hands to navigate this vessel, and four hundred Spaniards on board had been obliged to surrender. Admiral Matthews's division was then retiring, and the English in the *Poder*, busy in taking care of their prize, were made prisoners themselves. The superiority of number was of no service to the English; for the rear, commanded by vice admiral Lestock, was four miles distant: whether the vice-admiral, through pique against Matthews, wanted to deprive him of the glory of this day; or whether admiral Matthews, on the other hand, did not chuse that Lestock should share the glory with him. At length a west wind rising towards night, the different
fleets

fleets were obliged to obey its call, and each to go and repair the damage they had sustained. The English retired to Port Mahon, the French to Carthagená, and the Spaniards to Barcelona.

This action off Toulon proved a drawn battle, as almost all naval engagements commonly are, (excepting that of la Hogue) where the whole fruit of vast preparations, and obstinate fighting, is to kill a great number of men on both sides, and to shoot the masts of the ships by the board. Each side complained; the Spaniards thought they were not properly supported by the French, and the latter charged the former with being ungrateful. These two nations, though allies at present, had not been always so: the ancient antipathy used sometimes to rise in the breasts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the friendship between the two kings. On the other hand, Matthews accused his vice-admiral to the government, and sent him back to London to be tried. The latter accused Matthews in his turn; and preparations were made in London to bring them both to their trial. The French commander did justice publickly to the English admiral, who also justified M. de Court. If it was cruel to be accused by the very friends for whom they fought; it was on the other hand glorious to be acquitted by the enemy. And yet to satisfy the Spaniards the French commander was
I banished

banished for some months to his country-house, within two leagues of Paris. The English admiral was brought in guilty upon his trial, which lasted a long time: he was declared incapable of serving any more, by a council of war, which in England they call a *court martial*. The custom of judging severely, and of stigmatizing unsuccessful generals, had been lately communicated from Turkey to the states of Christendom. The emperor Charles VI. set two examples of this severity, in his last war against the Turks, a war which was looked upon in all parts of Europe, to have been worse conducted in the cabinet, than in the field. The Swedes since that time condemned two of their generals to death, whose fate all Europe lamented; by this severity their government acquired neither more respect abroad, nor more happiness at home. The importance of this subject merits our dwelling a little upon it.

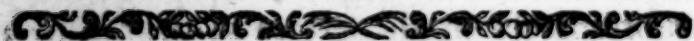
The French government, directed by principles of lenity, is satisfied with inflicting only a slight disgrace on occasions, when other states would put their general officers in irons, or bring them to the scaffold. To me it seems, that justice, and even good policy require that the honour and life of a general should not depend on bad success. It is very certain that a general does whatever lies in his power, unless he
be

be a traitor or a rebel; and that there is very little justice in inflicting a cruel punishment upon a man, who has done all that his abilities would permit: perhaps it is not even good policy to introduce the practice of prosecuting an unsuccessful general: for by that means those who begin a campaign very unfortunately in the service of their prince, might be tempted to go and finish it in the service of the enemy.

France and Spain, however, had the real advantage of this battle; the sea was open at least for some time, and the provisions which don Philip wanted, were easily sent him from the coast of Provence. But neither the French nor Spanish fleets could oppose admiral Matthews when he came back to this coast, after he had refitted his ships. France and Spain being continually obliged to keep large standing armies on foot, have not that inexhaustible fund of seamen, which is the great resource of the power of Great Britain. On this occasion it plainly appeared of what importance it was to the English to have kept possession of the island of Minorca, and how prejudicial it was to the Spaniards to have lost it. Melancholy indeed was it to think, that these ocean islanders should have deprived the Spanish monarchy of a harbour still more useful than Gibraltar; a harbour which by its convenient situation enabled them to disturb Spain, Italy, and

the southern coast of France. The Spaniards had ports in Africa, in spite of the Moors, and yet could not hinder the English from having ports in Spain.

The END of the FIRST PART.



P A R T II.

C H A P. I.

*The prince of Conti forces the passage of the Alps.
Situation of affairs in Italy.*

IN the midst of all these struggles, Lewis XV. declared war against king George *, and soon after against the queen of Hungary †, who declared it also against him in form; but on both sides it was no more than the addition of a ceremony: Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip, at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de la Mina; and prince Conti, with twenty thousand French, both inspired their troops with that confidence and resolution which are requisite for penetrating into a country, where a single battalion may stop a whole army, where every moment you are

* 15th March 1744.

† 26th April.

are obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where every other obstacle is heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had served as a lieutenant general in the unfortunate war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and understood the consequence of those disappointments to which an army is exposed almost every campaign. He had not as yet seen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a quite different way from what is practised in champaign countries: but he had prepared himself for this expedition by a constant application of ten hours a day, during the winter which he had spent at Paris. He could tell even the smallest rocks, and perfectly knew what had been performed under marshal Catinat and the duke of Vendome, as if he had been present himself.

The first of April the infant don Philip and prince Conti passed the Var, a river which descends from the Alps and empties itself into the sea of Genoa below Nice. The whole county of that name surrendered: But, to advance any farther, they were under a necessity of attacking the intrenchments near Villafranca, and those of the fortress of Montalban in the midst of rocks which form a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but through narrow defiles, and beneath frightful precipices, exposed to the

enemy's artillery. Under this fire they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock. Even on the Alps they had the English to encounter : admiral Matthews, having careened his ships, was returned to assume the empire of the seas : he landed with some of his men at Villafranca, who joined the Piedmontese ; and his gunners served the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his measures so well, and his troops were so greatly animated, that these obstacles were all surmounted. The marquis de Bissy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemy's batteries which flanked the passage of Villafranca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened themselves another way. They made four false attacks where they had no intention to penetrate : but M. de Bissy made two such brisk assaults against those places which he intended to carry ; every thing was so well concerted, so quick, and so vigorously pushed ; M. d'Argouges at the head of the regiments of Languedoc and of the isle of France, and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made such prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards *.

* April 19, 1744.

On

On the one side M. du Chatel and M. de Castelar ascended thro' very narrow byways to an eminence called mount Eleus, from whence they drove the Piedmontese; on the other side the marquis de Bissy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Grosso. When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, seeing they must either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers, they assisted each other with ardour, and with joint forces they battered down the intrenchments of the enemy: this rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a secure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmontese, with seventeen hundred men, were taken prisoners; and two thousand were killed. The marquis de Sufa, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to M. de Bissy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Chatel had taken post, commanded the enemy's entrenchments; so that at length they were obliged to fly to Oneglia to the number of three thousand men, and embark on board admiral Matthews's fleet, who was witness of the defeat. The count de Choiseul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had distinguished himself*. They advanced from post to post, from rock to rock; they took the citadel of Villafranca, and the fort of Montalban, where they

found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with provisions in proportion. But all this ended only in sharing the dominion of the Alps, and in fighting on the top of high mountains.

While they were forcing these passes for don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the country to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of Modena was also as far from retaking the Modenese, as the infant from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The Austrians and the Piedmontese were masters every where, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and count Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering the remains of the Spanish army, which was still retiring before the Austrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer observe an unlucky neutrality, which was greatly abused, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore set out from Naples to put himself at the head of his army. The Queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Cajeta the latter end of April, 1744; and even some mention was made of removing her to Rome, in case of any unlucky blow, or of an insurrection in Naples, with which the Austrians affected to frighten him. Such was the vicissitude of affairs, that the queen of Hungary,

gary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herself very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifesto ready, copies of which he afterward spread through the kingdom towards the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addressed herself to the inhabitants of the two Sicilies, as to subjects to whom she was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herself more than ever in this queen's cause; she augmented her subsidies, and spent upon the war, this year 1744, two hundred and seventy four millions, nine hundred and sixty four thousand livres French money; an expence which increased every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, which ruined the whole trade of Provence: the troops that fought at Dettingen she recalled back to Flanders; and these joined to the Flemish and Dutch regiments formed in the beginning of the campaign an army of above sixty thousand men. Prince Charles, with the like number of forces, was coming to attempt once more the passage of the Rhine. The emperor, whose neutrality was imaginary, and whose misfortunes were but too real, preserved the shattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipsburg, and at Francfort waited for his fate, dubious whether he should be maintained in possession of the imperial

crown by France, or stripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

CHAP. II.

First campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders. His successes. He leaves Flanders to fly to the defence of Alsace, invaded by the Austrians, whilst the prince of Conti continues to force a passage through the Alps. New alliances. The king of Prussia once more takes up arms.

THINGS were thus dangerously circumstanced * when Lewis XV. began his first campaign. He had appointed marshal Coigni to defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty one battalions and one hundred squadrons. The Bavarian troops, consisting of near twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, the very same officer on whom at that time they so greatly depended. Marshal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty eight battalions and ninety seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty two battalions and fifty eight squadrons also complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above eighty thousand fighting men.

There

There still remained, on the Rhine and the Moselle, seventy five battalions and one hundred and forty six squadrons, without reckoning the army in Italy, thirty thousand militia, the garrisons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Hessians. This situation, especially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year at the death of Cardinal Fleury. The English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage. They came now, when the opportunity was past; and the Dutch having refused to engage with them when this enterprize was easy, at length engaged when it was become impracticable.

The king chose rather to make the campaign in Flanders than in Alsace, reckoning that upon the Rhine it would be only a defensive war; whereas every thing was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army person, so it was a long time before the public knew that he was to set out for Flanders; with such secrecy did he conduct even those things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people, who have been governed these eight hundred years by the same family, to love their king; besides, he had only one son the dauphin, who was not yet married; all these circumstances

circumstances gave rise to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breasts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighbourhood of Lifle, and made some new regulations for the establishing of military discipline, a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aid de camps were M. M. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxembourg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubise, and de Pequigny. The enemy were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, bred, like the earl of Stairs, under the duke of Marlborough, and well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns: From his experience and abilities the English had great expectations. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had spent a great part of his life at the court of France, where he was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight against them. He was a pupil of prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and the French, and contributed not a little to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, having been wounded in both at the head of his troops.

Count

Count Maurice of Nassaw, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassaw, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince happening to die, before he could fulfil the promise of marriage which he had made to his mistress, Madame de Mechelin; his posterity were deprived of the honours annexed to his house.

Those three generals had it in their power to oppose the king's designs, had they been united: but the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the space of two months, against any power that should attack either of the two nations: on the other hand they flattered themselves with keeping the appearances of moderation, even in war itself; they were arming against the king, and yet were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed count Wassenaar to him, a person agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankness and complaisance, with other amiable qualities, had procured him a great many friends. The count used the most respectful and the most insinuating language to the king,

king, desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered : *The choice, Sir, which the States General have made of you, cannot but be agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct towards your republic, since my accession to the crown, should have convinced her, how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her.*

I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace : but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations. My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged ; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions.

The eighteenth of May the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalists are pleased to call it : on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's master pieces. He built this fortification with some regret, foreseeing that one day or other we should be obliged to surrender it to strangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place several times ;

times; he even approached within pistol shot of the palisade, with marshal Noailles, count d'Argenson, and all his court. The trenches were opened the 29th of May. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty Loiudores to those who worked at the attack towards the gate of Ipres, and a hundred to those who worked towards the gate of Lisle. At the assault commanded by the prince of Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmost rapidity; and they drained the inundations made by the besieged. The covert-way was taken the fourth of June; the fifth the town capitulated, and was the first the king took in person. The commanding officer was permitted to march out with all military honours.

The king thought proper to demolish the fortifications of this town, in which such great sums had been expended. This was shewing an instance of moderation to the states general by letting them see he did not intend to make use of this fortress against them; and at the same time was taking some revenge, and learning them to shew a greater respect to France, by demolishing one of their barriers.

The very next day * the king caused Ipres to be invested; and while preparations were making for the siege, he assisted at a *Deum* in Lisle, such as had never been seen
on

* June 6, 1744.

on those frontiers *. Three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons in law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied her nephew the duke of Chartres into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthievre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her husband the duke of Modena, was at the head of the Spanish army in Italy. The duchess of Chartres had followed her husband; and the princess of Conti, whose son was at that time upon the Alps, and whose daughter was married to the duke of Chartres accompanied those two princesses.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St. Germain des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the siege of Ipres. There had been no instance since the cardinals de la Valette and the Sourdis, of a person in whom both professions, the gown and the sword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permission from pope Clement XII. who thought fit that the church should be subordinate to the army in the grandson of the great Condé. They stormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town, tho' this enterprize appeared premature and hazardous. The marquis de Beauveau, major general, marched to the assault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and

* June 15.

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Royal-Comtois, where he received a mortal wound which gave him the most excruciating pain. In this torment he died regretted by all the officers and soldiers, as a person capable of commanding one day the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit. He was one of the most curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very scarce medals; and was the only man then of his profession that cultivated this kind of literature.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ipres soon capitulated*. Not one moment was lost: whilst they were entering Ipres, the duke of Boufflers took fort Knock: and whilst the king†, after these expeditions, went to visit the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid siege to Furnes, which capitulated § after five days open trenches.

The allied army looked on the progress of the French, without being able to oppose it. The body of troops commanded by marshal Saxe was so well posted, and covered the besieging army so well, that they could not but be sure of success. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations: those of the French army were all concerted. Marshal Saxe was posted at Courtray, where

* June 25. † June 29. § July 11.

he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers. A numerous artillery, which was easily brought from Doway, a regiment of artillery consisting of near five thousand men, full of officers, capable of conducting a siege; and composed of soldiers, most of them very able artists; in short, a very considerable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had hastily united only to wage war together for a few years. Establishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. A war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges must needs give the superiority to France.

In the midst of all these successes, advice came that the enemy had passed the Rhine, towards Spire, within sight of the French and Bavarians, that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine exposed. At first nobody would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles by alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length * succeeded on the side where count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians.

This passage of the Rhine, which did

† June 29, 30.

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such honour to prince Charles throughout Europe, was the fruit of his diligence, and the consequence of the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg, covered by that fortress, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that should present themselves on that side. General Nadaſti advanced towards him, while the other divisions of the Austrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at bay. The Bavarians withdrew and repassed the Rhine: marshal Coigni was obliged to entrust count Seckendorff with the banks of the river towards Germersheim and Rinsabeau: The count undertook to defend them; and this was the very place where prince Charles passed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had succeeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before: this man advanced softly towards a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by several boats loaded with Pandours, Waradins, and Hussars. He silently reached the other side of the river towards Germersheim: about six thousand men came over, and having advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments whom they defeated and put to flight.

flight. Prince Charles caused a second bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops passed without opposition. Marshal Coigny being informed of this disaster, dispatched his son and the marquis de Croissi in all haste with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Chatelet Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the best regiments; they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themselves amidst the morasses, and had no other resource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Those three officers pressed general Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy; they represented to him the important moment, the advantage of situation, and the ardour of the troops. The count at first promised to march, but afterwards changed his opinion: in vain did they insist upon his complying: he answered that he was better informed than they; and that he must write to the emperor. Upon which he left them, seized with indignation and surprize.

Thus the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without resistance. In an hour's time prince Charles made himself master of Lauterburg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. He made general Nadaasti advance as far as Weissemburg, an open town, whose garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: after this he put a body of
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ten thousand men into the town, and in the lines around it. Marshal Coigny, whose army extended along the Rhine, saw that his communication with France was cut off; that Alsace, the country of Metz, and Lorraine were going to be a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians: in short there was no other resource left than to cut his way through the enemy in order to re-enter Alsace, and to cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weissemburg, just after the enemy had taken possession of it *. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with great bravery; they fought in the market places and in the streets, which were strewed with dead bodies: and the engagement lasted six hours. The Bavarians who had defended the Rhine so ill, repaired their neglect by their valour: they were encouraged principally by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant general in the emperor's service, who received ten musket shot in his cloaths: The marquis de Montal headed the French; and at length they retook Weissemburg and the lines. But they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire towards Haguenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy spread terror even to Lorrain;

* July 15, 1744.

Lorrain; and king Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

The king having received this news at Dunkirk, did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take: he resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders, and leaving marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, he flew himself to the assistance of Alsace.

After having made marshal Noailles set out before him, he sent the duke of Harcourt, with some troops, to guard the streights of Phalsburg, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty six battalions, and three and thirty squadrons. This resolution of his majesty in his first campaign, revived the drooping spirits of the provinces alarmed by the passage of the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was so much the more excited, as in every thing the king wrote, in his letters, ordering *Te Deum* to be sung, in his declarations to foreign powers, in his letters to his family, the desire of peace and the love of his people, were always his principal topic. This new style in an absolute monarch, affected the minds, and at the same time roused the spirits of the nation.

The king took his route by St. Quintin, la Fere, Laon, Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march

march he increased the soldiers pay and subsistence; an attention which increased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the 5th of August, and the 7th tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation than any she had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia, after the peace of Breslaw; and especially after a defensive alliance, concluded the same year as the treaty of Breslaw, betwixt that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland having united against the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and especially Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance; the progress of the queen of Hungary's arms increasing daily in Germany; from all these circumstances it was plain sooner or later that the king of Prussia had every thing to fear. At length he determined upon renewing his engagements with France; the treaty had been signed secretly the 5th of April; and afterwards a strict alliance was concluded at Frankfort*, betwixt the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine, and the king of Sweden as Landgrave

* May 27, 1744.

grave of Hesse Cassel. Thus the secret union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau came on the part of Prussia to inform the king of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague, with an army of fourscore thousand men; and that two and twenty thousand Prussians were advanced as far Moravia. At the same time advice was brought of the fresh progress which the infant don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps. The scaling of those mountains at Montalban and Villafranca, and the victories obtained among those precipices, had not as yet opened a passage on that side; they could not advance for want of subsistence, thro' those defiles and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk in several places on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of the English fleet. Besides, the Genoese had not yet signed their treaty; the negotiations were still depending: so that the thorns of politics retarded the progress of the French arms. They opened themselves however a new road on the side of Briançon towards the valley of Susa,

Susa, and at length they penetrated as far as Chateau Dauphin *.

The bailiff de Givri led nine French battalions, de Poitou, de Conti, de Sales, de Provence, and de Brie, betwixt two mountains. The count de Campo Santo † followed him at the head of the Spaniards through another defile. Givri scaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thousand Piedmontese entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first that scaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewise one of the first that mounted this rock; but this was a more sanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to the cannon of the Piedmontese. The king of Sardinia was in person behind the entrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givri was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur being informed that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily found out, sent orders for a retreat. Givri obeys: but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant colonel
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* July 19, 1744.

† The count de Campo Santo bore this name and title ever since the battle of Campo Santo, where he did surprizing feats; his name was his reward; as the name of Bitonto was given to the duke of Montemar after the Battle of Bitonto. There is scarce any title more glorious than that of having gained a battle.

de Poitou leaps into the first entrenchments : the grenadiers dart themselves one upon the other ; and what is hardly credible, they pass through the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the very instant when the pieces having fired, were recoiling by their ordinary motion. The French lost near two thousand men, but not one Piedmontese escaped.

The king of Sardinia in despair, wanted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants ; and it was with difficulty, that they with-held him. Givri lost his life ; colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed ; the duke d'Agenois, and a great many others were wounded : but it cost them a great deal less than they might have expected in such a situation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and steep defile, where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spanish army under don Philip, *Some opportunities will offer in which we shall behave as well as the French ; for it is impossible to behave better.* I commonly transcribe the letters of general officers, when I find they contain any interesting matter ; for which reason I shall insert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. *It is one of the most glorious and most obstinate engagements that ever was fought ; the troops have shewn such valour as surpasses nature. The brigade of Poitou, with monsieur d'Agenois*

d'Aginois at their head, have gained immortal glory.

The bravery and presence of mind of M. de Chevert, contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modena to your Majesty. La Carte is killed; your majesty who knows the value of friendship, must be sensible how greatly I am affected with this loss. Let me be permitted to say, that such expressions from a prince to a king, are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

While they were taking Chateau Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the barricadoes. This is a pass of about three fathoms between two mountains, which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had let the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice; on the other side of the river the post was defended by three entrenchments and a covert-way. The French must then make themselves masters of the castle of Demont, which had been built at an immense expence on the top of a rock, that stood by itself in the middle of the valley of Stura; after which they would become masters of the Alps, and might see the plains of Piedmont. These barricadoes were forced * with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Chateau Dauphin: they took them almost without strik-

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* July 18

ing a blow, by putting those who defended them betwixt two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage called the *day of the barricadoes*, that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Chateau Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterprize of the barricadoes with more than ordinary success, as it was not attended with the loss of any of the king's troops, wanted to spare the effusion of human blood before Chateau Dauphin; because after forcing the barricadoes, this fortress must fall of itself. But the bravery of the king's troops transported them farther than there was reason to expect: and in two days time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricadoes, and by Chateau Dauphin, was laid open.

The surmounting of so many obstacles towards Italy, a powerful diversion made in Germany, the king's conquests in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had removed the public apprehension, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into a consternation.

C H A P. III.

The king's illness. His life is in danger. As soon as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays siege to Friburg, while the Austrian army, that had penetrated into Alsace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia; and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy.

THE very day they sang *Te Deum* at Metz for the taking of Chateau Dauphin, the king felt some symptoms of a fever; this was the eighth of August. His illness increased; it had all the appearance of a malignant fever, and the fourteenth at night his life was thought to be in the utmost danger. He had a very robust constitution, which was hardened by exercise; but the most robust bodies are the oftenest overcome by that distemper. The report of the king being in danger spread desolation from town to town, the people flocked from every side of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different relations increased the common inquietude.

The fourteenth in the evening the queen received a courier from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the king's great danger. The queen, the dauphin and his sisters, and all round them, were in tears: the whole palace, the whole town of Versailles, re-

founded with lamentations. The Royal family set out that very night by post without the least preparative. The queen, accustomed to give away her money in acts of generosity, had not enough to defray the expences of her journey: they were therefore obliged to send in the middle of the night to the receiver general of the finances at Paris for a thousand Louidores. The ladies at court followed the queen without domestics; above twenty thousand inhabitants of Versailles filled the stair cases, the court yards, the avenues, and followed the queen's coaches at a distance, some with mournful cries, and others in deep consternation. The news was immediately spread at Paris; the people get out of their beds; they all run about in a hurry, without knowing where they are going; some repair to the ramparts where from afar they might see the Royal family pass by; others flock to the churches: no longer do they know either the time of sleep, of waking, or of rest; all Paris is beside itself: the houses of the officers at court are besieged by a continual crowd: the people gather in the public squares, and break out into a general cry: *if he dies, it is for having marched to our assistance.* And indeed his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him, darted with such violence as to burn his thigh. They represented to themselves what he had done

done in his first campaign: their concern was not owing to the misfortunes they might have reason to fear; no, they were too much affected to have any foresight. They were actuated by love alone, which deprived them of their understanding; strangers accosted one another, and asked one another questions in church; the priest, as he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, interrupted his prayer with his tears; and the people answered him with sobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, desiring them to *pray for the king*; and these carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were some people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were seized with a fit of illness, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magistrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The superior courts sent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were coming continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris, they were stopped, upon the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The physicians, who attended the king, wrote every three hours the state of his disorder, to satisfy the people who read those certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where she found her father Stanislaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they despaired of his life.

THE HISTORY OF

The general concern was then at the greatest height; they thought the king was dead; and the rumour was spread through all the neighbouring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his physicians, to whom such disorders are familiar, and who, joining reason with experience, knew extremely well that the whole consists only in letting nature operate freely: that, when this method does not succeed, we must leave our days to him who has counted them; all the rest being only a false art, which imposes on human weakness.

The queen arrived the seventeenth, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier who brought the news of his recovery, was embraced and almost suffocated by the people; they kissed his horse; they led him about in triumph: while all the streets resounded with cries of joy, *the king is recovered*. Strangers embraced each other; they ran to prostrate themselves in the churches; there was not so much as a company of tradesmen, but gave order for *Te Deum* to be sung. The king still kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of these surprizing transports of joy which had succeeded to such scenes of sorrow. This moved him very much, so as to draw tears from his eyes, when, deriving strength from his sensibility, he raised himself up in his bed, and said: *Ah, what a pleasure*

THE WAR OF 1741.

pleasure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deserve it?

The first days of his convalescence were distinguished by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barricadoes of the defiles of Stura, which seemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Chateau Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every intrenchment, and at length reduced twelve hundred men, who defended this last fortress of the Alps, to surrender at discretion.

This news entertained the king, and comforted him in his convalescence. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never lost sight of the interest of his people. Marshal Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alsace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illness hindered him from conducting in person. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to prince Charles, who had sent his flying parties as far as Lorrain: and notwithstanding the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was still taken up with the expectation of an engagement; so that when he thought himself in danger of dying, he said to count d'Argenson, who never stirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illness: *Tell marshal Noailles from me, That, while they were carrying Lewis XIII. to the grave, the prince of*

Condé obtained a victory. And yet marshal Noailles could only fall * upon the rear of prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and lost only about eighteen hundred men. In this skirmish, which cost France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orleans, Grand Prior of France, and M. de Fremur, were dangerously wounded.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine in spite of the French forces, repassed it, almost without any loss, within sight of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against their letting an enemy escape, who was coming to wreak its vengeance upon him. This was indeed missing a lucky opportunity. The king's illness had retarded the march of the troops; besides, they must have passed through a difficult morass to attack prince Charles, who had taken all necessary precautions, secured his bridges, and contrived every thing that could facilitate his retreat, inasmuch that he did not lose a single magazine. Having therefore repassed the Rhine with fifty thousand men complete, he marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasburg, he hastened to deliver Bohemia a second time. The king of Prussia advanced towards Prague and invested it the fourth of September: but what seems extraordinary is, that general Ogilvi, who

* August 22 and 23.

who defended the town with fifteen thousand men †, ten days after surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war. This was the same governor who gave up the town in less time in 1741, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand Austrians being thus made prisoners of war at the taking of the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the kingdom being subdued a few days after, Moravia being invaded at the same time, the French army returning to Germany, and other successes attending their arms in Italy; in such a situation one would have imagined that the grand European quarrel was on the point of being decided in favour of the emperor. This prince was preparing to return to Munich, as soon as he could receive intelligence that the road was open, upon prince Charles's repassing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to the assistance of Bohemia. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, having joined the union of Frankfort, had already hired three thousand men to the king of France, and was to furnish him with six thousand more. The elector Palatine was always of that party. The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was strongly solicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Koniggratz

† September 15,

gratz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France; there was very little left for the emperor: and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to count Bruhl, prime minister of Saxony; at the same time he promised father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity; and among the pleasures of his successes he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a protestant prince. The appearances were favourable, when prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss; though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march towards Bohemia; and scarce had the Austrians quit-
ted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the siege of Friburg, the bulwark of anterior Austria, which marshal Coigni invested the thirtieth of October.

The king's physicians all advised him not to expose himself to the unwholesome air of that province after so dangerous an illness, but to return to Versailles. He would not hear them, being determined to finish the campaign. While he was at Strasburg,
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where his reception was one of the most magnificent solemnities ever seen, the marquis de Bissy arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The infant don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid siege to Coni: and the king of Sardinia with a superior army attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprise: it was on one of those occasions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out in this advanced season, and he had a very safe retreat. The disposition of his army was one of the most judicious ever known; for having less cavalry by one half than the besiegers, and double their number of infantry, he made his attack in such a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to suffer. And yet he was beaten*, the French and Spaniards, notwithstanding the national jealousies which used constantly to rise upon the cessation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who support each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, and the field of battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred

• September 5, 1744.

dred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as general and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of MM. de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the signal services of M. de Courten, on those of MM. du Chayla, de Choiseul, de Beaupreau, and of all those who had behaved gallantly; desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of officers, who deserved the commendations of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters, of MM. de Montmorenci, d'Aginois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quarter master general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major general of the army. This history would form only a continual list of names, could I recite all the brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually lost in the crowd.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigour of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura and the torrents, were
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of more service to the king of Sardinia, than the gaining the battle of Coni was to don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege and to repass the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of those who fight towards the Alps, and have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their armies even by their victories.

C H A P. IV.

The siege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy.

IN this wet season the king was before Friburg. Of all the sieges he had made, this was the most painful and the most dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treissau, and to open a new bed for it of two thousand six hundred fathom; but no sooner was this work completed, than a dike broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The besiegers were exposed to the fire of the castle of Friburg, and obliged at the same time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were exposed to
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an incessant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies perished by the springing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aid de camp; and count Lowendahl, who would also be at the siege as a voluntier, was wounded on the head with a musket shot. This foreigner was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Russian service: it was he that took Ock-zakow from the Turks. He spoke almost all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, with their genius, with the character of the people, and their different method of fighting: at length he preferred the service of France, where from his reputation he was immediately received as lieutenant general.

The besiegers were not the least discouraged, but carried the greatest part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themselves entirely masters of it, notwithstanding the bombs, pattereroes, and granadoes, with which the enemy incessantly annoyed them. There were sixteen engineers at those attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubise had his arm broke by a stone; which as soon as the king heard, he visited him several times, and saw his wounds

wounds dressed. This sensibility of their sovereign encouraged the troops ; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardships of the siege, and generously ventured his life. Their ardour was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the first prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Friburg, did not hang out the white flag till the 6th of November, after a siege of two months. Count d'Argenson drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Friburg. It was stipulated, as a favour granted from the king to general Damnitz, that he should have leave to retire with his garrison, his sick and wounded into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had signed the capitulation, that this permission would be fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold such a number of men, that they would be crowded upon one another, and more exposed to the enemy's cannon, and, in short, that his sick must infallibly perish : he therefore begged of them not to grant him so dangerous a favour ; but the permission then was become an obligation. A suspension of arms was however granted for twenty days ; at the expiration of which term the citadel was besieged, and taken in seven days. The king used the same policy at Friburg as at Menin ; he demolished the fortifications of the town, neither

ther wanting to keep possession of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken some day by the Austrians, and proving a thorn in his side. This was one of those towns which Lewis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterwards was obliged to surrender. It is true, that, according to the plan so often defeated, Friburg and the anterior Austria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor ; but it was then foreseen that he would not keep possession of this country. The king indeed was master of all the Brisgaw : the prince of Clermont on his side was advanced as far as Constance : and the emperor at length had the pleasure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favourable turn, though they advanced but slowly. The prince of Conti demolished the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by storm. The king of Naples was pursuing prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diversion made by the king of Prussia ; but they were disappointed ; fortune changed sides again, as she had often done during this war, and prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Prussians committed the very same mistakes, and made the same kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with : they successively evacuated the different posts which led to Prague,

Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itself *.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine within sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year within sight of the king of Prussia. He followed him even into Silesia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breslaw. At length it became a moot point whether the queen who seemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Silesia in the month of December the same year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but just returned to his desolate capital, should be once more obliged to leave it.

C H A P. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Mary Teresa, against whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples surprized at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome.

THESE hopes the Austrians derived from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the least revolutions in the whole war, namely the step then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This same prince, who in the beginning

* November 19, 1744.

beginning had joined the king of Prussia against the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princess against Prussia, and had already furnished her with about twenty thousand men. In pursuing this measure he did not intend to declare war against king Frederick, but only to assist the queen, just as the States General had joined with her against France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest in making the queen of Hungary and the new house of Austria more powerful; nay, it seemed strange that he should chuse rather to aggrandize that house, than to raise himself upon its ruins: but a particular pique betwixt him and king Frederick, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

Scarce had the king of Prussia concluded his treaty in April 1744 with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland signed his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May. He promised to assist her with thirty thousand men, and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia which she hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince had trumped up some ancient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories

territories of their neighbours. England paid him a subsidy of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling every year, so long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of surprize, that a king of Poland elector of Saxony should be reduced to accept of this money, it was a much greater surprize that England should be able to give it, when she had granted this very year five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the same time she paid a subsidy of twenty two thousand pounds to the elector of Cologne, for permitting the enemies of the emperor his brother to raise troops against him in the territories of Cologne, Munster, and Osnabruck. To such a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The borders of the Rhine had been all frightened at the passage of prince Charles; and the English gold did the rest. At this conjuncture the Austrians, assisted by their new allies the Saxons, threatened Silesia: they likewise threatened French Flanders with English and Dutch succours.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of marshal Saxe, by twenty thousand men. This general employed all those resources of war, which are intirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities,

nities, to cover one's own country, to maintain an army at the enemy's expence, to remove upon their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back; in short to baffle superior strength by skill; this is what is looked upon as one of the master-pieces of the military art; and what marshal Saxe did from the beginning of August to the month of November.

The quarrel about the Austrian succession was every day growing more obstinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the respective interests more complicate, while the successes of each party were generally counterpoised by those of the opposite side.

France had on her side in Germany the emperor, the king of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the elector Palatine, by the treaty of Frankfort. But the Prussians were then busy in defending themselves. Hesse was always ready to sell troops to England, as well as to France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving assistance; and besides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Austria was still the predominant power in Germany, especially having the succours of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and subsidies of Great Britain. The rest of the empire still neuter, tho' a great part were well affected to the house
of

of Austria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waste their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many: yet on the other hand, it is no less true that this war really enriched Germany, while it seemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and English money, which was scattered among them with such profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans. Frankfort especially, so long the residence of the imperial court, of such a number of ministers, princes and generals, had made immense profits. Dresden, which had furnished provisions a long time to the French and Austrian armies in their turn, had thereby enriched itself; and upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and consequently must sooner or later render it more powerful. It was not so in regard to Italy, which moreover cannot form for any considerable time a powerful body like Germany. France had not sent to the Alps more than forty two battalions, and thirty three squadrons, which, considering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compose a body of more than twenty six thousand men. The infant's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard

regard to the pope's territories, on which prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thousand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in that vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples towards the months of March, April and May 1744; and had it not been for the prudent conduct of count Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general finding that his Spanish army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and these new troops grew inured to discipline: at length by temporizing, he obliged prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army also wasting away, to retire from Abruzzo towards Rome.

This city had beheld, since the month of July, an engagement in her neighbourhood, betwixt the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples, and the duke of Modena were at Velletri, anciently the capital of the Volsci, and now the residence of the dean of the sacred college. The king of the two Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is reckoned a structure of magnificence and taste. Prince Lobkowitz made the same attempt upon Velletri, as prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in

1702; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri, in the middle of the night *; the main guard were slain; all those who resisted were cut in pieces, and those who made no resistance were made prisoners; in short terror and alarm were spread all around. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken. The marquis de l'Hospital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noise, runs to the king, and saves him; no sooner had the marquis quitted his house, but it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena, and the ambassador, puts himself at the head of his troops without the town; the Austrians break into the houses; general Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabbatini, that prince's minister, who had been formerly in the same regiment with himself. *Is it not true*, said this minister to him *that you grant me my life, and you will content yourself with making me your prisoner?* While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very same thing happened as at Cremona; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Irish, and another of Swiss, repulsed the Austrians, strewed the streets with dead bodies, and retook the town. M. Sabbatini, seeing this revolution from his win-

* 10th of August, 1744.

THE HISTORY OF

and to the Austrian general; 'tis I that grant you your life, and it is you that are my prisoner. A few days after, prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat towards Rome; whither he was pursued by the king of Naples. The former marched towards one gate of the city, and the latter towards the other; they both passed the Tiber within sight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the spectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome, under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards stood with their drawn swords in the streets, while their master was kissing the pope's toe; the two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whose inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was from the beginning the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that on both sides the success was still extremely dubious.

CH A P. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever.

IMmediately after the taking of Friburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received

received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been afraid of losing. He remained three days in his hospital, to shew himself to the inhabitants who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleasure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuse. He dined in the Hotel de Ville, whose square was adorned with those magnificent decorations which make us wish for more durable monuments. He was served at table, according to custom, by the provost of the merchants, and the dauphin by the first *Echevin*.

On this occasion it was observed, that the inscriptions of the Hotel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin: though, indeed, these interpreters of the people's joy ought to be such as they can understand. They pique themselves in Germany, in England, and in the North, for making inscriptions and devices in French; which should be a hint to our nation to shew the same honour to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, at his return from the campaign, had no minister of foreign affairs, having been his own minister at the army. To fill this place he chose successively two men who had no thoughts of it. The first was M. de Ville-neuve, who, during his embassy to the Ottoman porte, had negotiated a

peace between the Turk and the last emperor of the house of Austria. This gentleman was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wise man; a character which he still maintained by his sensibility of his present condition: having no ambition to deceive himself, or to imagine he had strength above his age, he refused the employment. The second was the marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the secretary at war; by this favour the king surprized the two brothers,

The only inducement the king had in giving away a place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in most courts of Europe, seems to require less virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honest man. These two ministers were descended from one of the most ancient houses of Tourraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for some years been joined to the ancient honours of the sword. Their father, who had been keeper of the seals, and minister of the finances, was a genius equal either for the command of an army or for policying a state; a man of piercing wit, intrepid, and indefatigable; able to unravel the most knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms which little minds are so fond of; in short, a man superior to party, fear, or interest. At a time when the government wanted money, he sent back a hundred thousand

thousand crowns to the royal treasury, which were his right as minister of the finances: and when he acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king knew of, contributed greatly to the promotion of his sons.

One of the first affairs, that came before the minister of state, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambassadors, and of the constitutions of the empire, than any exercise of the right of war.

The king, still true to his engagements with the emperor, had sent marshal Bellisle, with full powers from himself and from the emperor, to Munich, and from thence to Cassel, and Silesia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial residence, with the chevalier his brother; they had been at Cassel, and were continuing their journey, without any distrust, through a country where the king of Prussia has several post houses, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neuter and inviolable. While the marshal and his brother were changing horses at one of those post houses, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the Elector of Hanover, they were arrested and ill used by an Hanoverian bailiff, and soon after removed to England. The duke of Bellisle was a prince of the em-

pire, and in this quality this arrest might have been considered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times emperors would have punished such an indignity : but any insult might have been offered to Charles VII; all he could do was to complain.

The French ministers laid claim at the same time to the privileges of ambassadors, and to every right of war. If marshal Bellisle was considered as a prince of the empire, and as a minister of the court of France going to the Imperial and Prussian courts ; as those two courts were not at war with Hano-
ver, certainly his person was sacred. If, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general, and as a marshal of France, the king offered to ransom him and his brother. Pursuant to the cartel settled at Frankfort the eighteenth of June, 1743, between France and England, the ransom of a marshal of France was rated at 50,000 livres. The minister of king George II. eluded these pressing arguments by a quirk, which was a new affront : he declared that he looked upon MM. de Bellisle as prisoners of state. They were treated with the most distinguished regard, according to the maxim of most of the European courts, who soften the iniquity of politics and the cruelty of war by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII. neglected and disregarded in the empire, having no other
support

support but the king of Prussia, pursued by prince Charles, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again compel him to quit his capital, seeing himself the continual sport of fortune, and oppressed by maladies which his chagrines had increased, sunk at length under the weight: he died at Munich at the age of 47 years and a half, leaving this lesson to the world, that the highest degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmost pitch of infelicity. He had been unhappy only since his elevation to the imperial throne; and nature from that time was even more unkind to him than fortune. A complication of acute disorders filled his days with bitterness, and carried him to the grave. He had the gout and the stone: upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his stomach mortified, with stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded that for some time he must have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in state, dressed after the old Spanish mode, according to the regulation of Charles V. though there has not been a Spanish emperor since that prince, and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the imperial ceremonies: and with all that parade of vanity and human misery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during

his short reign, was not even possessed of a small unhappy province. They gave him the title of *invincible* in the rescripts published by the young elector his son, a title by custom annexed to the imperial dignity, and which only served to render the public more sensible of the misfortunes of him that possessed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologne, would never defend his cause; not but that this elector, who was a bishop and prince of Munster, Paderborn, and Osnabruck, might raise an army; but to have a good one great preparatives were requisite; he ought to have laid up money, to have officers regularly trained, and soldiers disciplined; all this he wanted. He had always foreseen that Austria would resume the superiority, which indeed was the reason of his neutrality during this whole war: this occasioned great complaints against him; but the event justified the conduct he was obliged to observe.

It was then believed that, as the cause of the war no longer subsisted, peace would be restored to Europe: they could not offer the empire to the son of Charles VII. who was then only seventeen years of age; they flattered themselves in Germany that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the sure means of placing her husband, the grand duke, at length upon the imperial throne:

throne: but she would have this throne and also continue the war. The English ministry, who gave law to their allies, because they gave them money, supplying, at the same time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they should be losers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war: they had no difficulty to inspire Mary Teresa with the same confidence, so as to flatter herself that she should be able to beat both France and Prussia. The passage of the Rhine and of the Elbe in one campaign had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand would not abandon the cause, either of his son-in-law the infant don Philip in Italy, of the young elector of Bavaria in Germany, or of the king of Prussia, who was returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, because it was begun: the object of it was now no longer the same as in the beginning; it was one of those maladies whose symptoms alter when they grow inveterate. Flanders had been respected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was considered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aspire to this dignity, but he

might likewise render it subservient to the enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he at first attempted to acquire by the sword. At least, by detaching him from his new alliance with Austria, there was a probability of giving a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept of terms of peace. But the Saxon minister chose rather to see his master an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna : The king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept of it.

This refusal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared so astonishing to Europe, did not at all surprize those who were acquainted with his court and with the state of his affairs. They persuaded him, that he would find it very difficult to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They represented to him that he would run the risk of losing a throne, which he might secure to his posterity ; and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point in competition with the great duke of Tuscany. The example of the elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince, who is not of himself very powerful, to bear the weight of the imperial crown ; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own strength,

is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In short, this prince, whether he was not strong enough, or whether he was restrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England; instead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her husband's head, and to give every thing to those, to whom at first he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other resource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the decision of many different interests, which had so often changed, and in all their mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joseph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to son whose rights had been maintained by France. This crown restored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Six thousand Hessians in French pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which have been a long time in the French service, had joined the Bavarian forces which were still maintained by the king. To render these succours effectual, the Bavarians ought to have done their best to defend themselves; but it was their fate

to be always beaten by the Austrians. They defended the entrance of their country so very ill, that in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that same capital from which his father had been so often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to such a degree, that it was not able to find forage for the French troops who were coming to the elector's assistance. The Hessians were mercenaries, who would accept of French money, but did not care to fight. The tenth of April general Braut declared to count Segur, commander in chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Segur found himself deserted by the very people he was come to assist; and he could not rely on the Hessians, who had shewn such backwardness.

To complete the disgrace of the French, count Seckendorf, who still commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with Austria, and was negotiating a secret accommodation, whereby he surrendered the house of Bavaria to the discretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated every thing that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's discontent, was that the French had not latterly given him 24000 German florins, which he still demanded, notwithstanding the immense sums
the

the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the emperor Charles VIIth's plate in pawn, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electoral family, he complained they did not pay him the remainder of a sum of money which was still due. Every body knows, that this man after having been long in the service of the house of Austria was confined by the last emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the house of Bavaria: now human nature is so constituted, that those who often change masters, are seldom heartily attached to any party. The twenty fourth of March he wrote to marshal Thorning, a Bavarian general, these very words: *The happy success with which they flatter themselves upon the Rhine, will not save Bavaria; this country must be doomed to utter destruction, if means be not found out of saving it by some kind of accommodation, be it what it will.*

The count de Segur and M. de Chayigni, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his secret designs; they plainly perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left exposed in a country, where they very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the space of four years, were become their enemies.

Things being thus unhappily situated,
count

count Segur, who had only six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thousand Austrians*, within a few leagues of Donawert, near a little town called Pffaffenhoven. His business then was to save the king's troops and the military chest; for this end he posted his men so well, covering them with a wood and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and most obstinate fight, without being thrown into disorder. The French alone lost about two thousand men, killed and wounded: the Palatines less exposed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made prisoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a musket ball on the field of battle. He had only his aid de-camp near him when he received the wound. *Let me die, said he, run and inform M. de Segur, that he may take care of the rear.* We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who besides every military talent was possessed of a philosophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his company infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long distinguished in Flanders; the hope and conso-

* April 15, 1745.

lation

lation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this son, on whom she doated. The marquis de Crussol, who was intrusted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that they merited the commendations of the enemy, and the rewards of the king. This little army retired to Donawert in good order, without being ever broke; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themselves had lost.

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Aufburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to those which were only fighting his battles, he might still have kept the ballance even. The king was defending his cause on all sides: marshall Maillebois at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and sixty two squadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Austrian army commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Prussia kept prince Charles employed: in short the king of France himself was upon the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were superseded by count Seckendorf's party; they

they prevailed on the young elector to sign preliminaries*, by which he made himself dependent on Austria; while the queen of Hungary was left in possession of his strongest towns, Ingolstadt, Scharding, and Braunaw, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty: he likewise promised his vote at the first diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very person whom the present conjuncture had rendered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Bavaria. The six thousand Hessians who were in this army declared themselves neuter; but notwithstanding their neutrality, they were disarmed at Augsburg, after which they passed from French into English pay. The Palatines were soon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution so lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this service at least to France, that it saved her the men and the treasure of which she had been so lavish in favour of the house of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally cost a great deal more than their service is worth. The young elector's council might excuse this treaty by the experience of past and the apprehension of future misfortunes: but how could they justify a secret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and like the rest to

* April 22, 1745.

receive English pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the imperial throne, that in two year's time the Bavarians would serve among his enemy's troops.

While the king lost one ally who was only a burden to him, he still preserved another who was of infinite use. The king of Prussia was the terror of the Austrians; Prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The resolution taken by Lewis XV. was to act upon the defensive in Germany, and upon the offensive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he answered every purpose. His army upon the Rhine employed the Austrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally the king of Prussia, with too great a superiority of forces. He had already sent marshal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was entrusted with the management of the war upon the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook himself in person, to finish the conquests, which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had just married the dauphin to the second infanta of Spain in the month of February †; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his sixteenth

† 1745.

teenth year, prepared to set out the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, Marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of a hundred and six battalions and a hundred and seventy two squadrons complete, with seventeen independent companies.

CH A P. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe having made several marches, which kept the enemy in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all of a sudden sat down before Tournay, and invested it the 25th of April; while the allied army of English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's masterpieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the ancient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage; they preferred the

*Tournay a town in ^{French} Flanders
then possessed by the Dutch*

French magnificence which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom regarded in fortified towns : they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places ; they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay, happened one of those events, where the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared as it were in the most conspicuous characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron ; here a cavalier * was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gun powder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himself down upon a bearskin near M. de Talleyrand ; when he recollected that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze. He resolves to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand does all he can to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone than a soldier trying the prime of his fusil, lets a spark fall upon the cask of gunpowder : instantly the cavalier flies up into the air, and M. de Talleyrand is blown up with 24 soldiers, whose limbs quite torn and shattered are dispersed on every side : part of the body of
M.

* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

De Biron & Talleyrand at Tournay
— & blown up —

M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the distance of above threescore yards. But an accident of this kind tho' never so fatal, is confounded, in time of war, in the multitude of human calamities, which from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language. Upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descend without order, without preparation, or even without officers upon the covert-way, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly all round it, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardour of the troops rendered in some measure excuseable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states general were informed, that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of their troops that he

Tournay

he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of those republicans, they were the first of the allies at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

The fifth of May the enemy advanced to Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aids-de-camps, and the dauphin by his minions. *Louis the 15th -*

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing their king the foregoing year, felt a return of their grief, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no intrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of observation: nor were the twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed that the king's army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty two squadrons. For the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia; and a hundred and seventy two squadrons:

*The French forces
Battle of Fontenoy.*

squadrons: whereas the allies had only forty six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is that the day of the engagement the French did not avail themselves intirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived; there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers was certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides it happens very seldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions and twenty six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck, of the same age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons: the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old general Konigseg,

*The allied forces opposed^{who}
to the French at Fontenoy -*

Cumberland & the Duke of Cumberland

who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle; besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general, in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace: besides a profound theory he had great practical knowledge: in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone and when to execute a project, to see things at one glance, presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But at that time this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at the gates of death when he left Paris. The author of these memoirs happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him, how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? the marshal answered: It is not time now to think of living, but of departing.

*The French forces - The
and allied army at Tournay*

The 6th of May the king arrived at Do-
way : just as he was going to bed, he re-
 ceived a courier from the marshal, who in-
 formed him that the enemy's army was ap-
 proaching, and that they should be quickly
 in sight of each other. *Gentlemen*, said the king
 to his aid-de-camps and to his officers, *there*
shall be no time lost ; I set out to-morrow morning
at five o'clock ; but do not disturb the dauphin.

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-
Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the
trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who
 had been apprised, was there in time ; and
 attended the king, when he went to recon-
 noitre the ground designed for the field of
 battle. The whole army, upon seeing the
 king and the dauphin, made the air resound
 with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent
 the tenth and the night of the eleventh in
 making their last dispositions. Never did the
 king express greater cheerfulness than the
 evening before the engagement. The con-
 versation turned upon the battles at which the
 kings of France had been present : the king
 said, that since the battle of Poitiers, never
 a king of France had his son with him in an
 engagement ; that none of them had ever
 gained a signal victory over the English ;
 and he hoped to be the first. *the 11th*

The day the battle was fought, he waked
 the first : at four o'clock he himself awaken-
 ed count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who
 that very instant sent to marshal Saxe to know
 his

Tournay -
the King & Marshal Saxe

his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted as he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The marshal told the officer sent by count d'Argenson, that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve with the carabiniers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops, whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives, to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made these answers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprized of the marshal's directions, said, *Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge.* Soon after he went and took post beyond the place called *The Justice of our Lady in the wood*. For his guard he would have only a squadron of an hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one gendarm, a light-horse-man, and a musketeer. Marshal de Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also the count d'Argenson; the aid-de-camps were the same as the preceding year. The duke

de Villeroi was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his minions near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person that has a mind to form to himself a clear and distinct image of this action*. The ancients who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies: but to have an adequate knowledge of such a day; researches, still more difficult, are necessary. No one officer can see every thing: a great many behold with eyes of prepossession; and there are some that are very short sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war office, and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps: but it is requisite moreover to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their relations, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions have I taken for the obtaining

* We have taken the author's hint, and have added to this Edition a Plan, which was prefixed to his poem on the battle of Fontenoy, first published at Paris with great applause in 1745.

Fontenoy -

obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye upon the plan, you perceive at one glance the disposition of the two armies. You see Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dauphin came. The village of Fontenoi is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad betwixt the woods of Barri and of Fontenoi. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoi, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoi from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left towards Ramecroix, where the enemy might advance by fetching the compass of the woods.

The general had made provisions for a victory, and against a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, strengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin in case of an unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the same time over

the other bridges on the lower Scheld in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least clashing, there happened one mistake, which had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, the general was told, that there was a hollow way, deep and impracticable, which extended without discontinuance from Antoin to Fontenoi, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himself; and they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He made his dispositions accordingly; but this ground which was very deep near Fontenoi and Antoin, was quite level betwixt those two villages. This circumstance so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quarter-master M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot betwixt the villages. Marshal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoi to the first redoubt by an earthen redan: the three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens with that of Diefbach.

The Redoubts & Redan Beside

Marshal d'Ante

Beside these precautions they had likewise planted six sixteen pounders on this side the Scheld, to gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe that there was a piece of ground of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle ascent between the woods of Barri and Fontenoi. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures: here the marquis de Chambonas commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left of Fontenoi, formed a cross-fire, sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

If the English should have attempted to pass through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had entrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road-leading to Leuze. Thus did marshal Saxe on every side, make the most advantage of the ground.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The counts de la Marck and de Lorges were entrusted with the post of Antoin, where

Count Saxe ^{M 3} a natural son of the King of Poland - was a -
 immediate General. were

were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoi was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoi. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiss, and the regiment of Courtin on the ground extending from Fontenoi to the wood of Barri.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty two squadrons of horse: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Estrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant generals of this first line. M. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the second; and between these lines of cavalry, in the morning the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and Royal.

*The French Troop
of Generals 237 to 247 -* On:

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel: betwixt these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnere, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorrain, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Roussillon. *troops - guards x*

The king's household and the carabiniers were in the corps de reserve. This was a new practice of marshal Saxe, recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, in silence they waited for the break of day. At four in the morning, marshal Saxe, attended by his aide-camps, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers; which the marshal perceiving, said, *Gentlemen, there will be occasion for your lives to day*: he made them dismount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength and increased his illness; finding himself grow weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day count d'Argenson went to see whether

The Irish M⁴ Brigade - the
The heroic Saxe ready for the fight

the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the minister were necessary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field pieces were four pounders, and drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and the redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheld against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoi, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant general of artillery.

The enemy had eighty one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field pieces were three pounders; they were what we used formerly to call fauconets; their length is about four feet and a half, their ordinary charges two pounds of powder, and they carry 500 yards point-blank. There were some that carried only balls of a pound and a half. The cannading began on both sides: marshal Saxe told marshal Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have

their

*The Artillery
The Battle Begins*

done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe and in continual alarm, by which means they might retard, and perhaps absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the same time they had it in their power constantly to harass and alarm the besieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Konigseg: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, marshal Noailles was near to Fontenoi, and gave an account to marshal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning of the night, in joining the village of Fontenoi to the first of the three redoubts betwixt Fontenoi and Antoin: he acted as his first aid-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedency to a general, who was not only a foreigner but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there so perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who from the ordinary weakness of the human heart, should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up: when marshal Noailles said to him; *Nephew, we should embrace one another*

Saxe - Noailles M⁵ Grammont on

on the day of battle, perhaps we shall not see one another again. Accordingly they embraced each other most tenderly; and then marshal Noailles went to give the king an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barri, opposite to an English battery; here a cannon ball of three pound weight struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot, fell into his boot. *Have a care,* says he to the duke of Grammont, *your horse is killed; and I too,* answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoi, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern: Ah! we shall lose a great many more
 † to day.

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Towards seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoi, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards

*Death to the gallant Antoin,
Duke of Grammont*

Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoi, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made entrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed; for the soldiers did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark; at each discharge they made the air resound with *Vive le Roi*. The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The English presented themselves thrice before Fontenoi, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time with the dauphin, near the *Justice of our Lady in the wood*, against which the English played very briskly with their cannon. Even the musket shot reached thus far; a domestic of count d'Argenson having been wounded on the forehead by a musket-ball, a good way behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king ob-

~~that~~ *The fight very close* served

The King in danger -

served every thing with great attention. He was the first that perceived, that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoi, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine towards Ramecroix: he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the general's advice, entirely solicitous about the success of the day, never presuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his son's instruction.

He then advanced towards the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their second attack: the cannon balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer near him named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with earth from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midst of danger: the king and those about him, finding themselves daubed with the earth thrown up by this shot, fell a laughing: the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery; *Send these balls back to the enemy, I will have nothing belonging to them.* He afterwards returned to his former post, and with surprize observed that most of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barri,

from

from the English batteries, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Roussillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpose, upon the villages and the redoubts. Towards ten the duke of Cumberland took the resolution of forcing his way between the redoubt of the woods of Barri and of Fontenoi. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other side of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprize seemed temerarious. The duke took this resolution only because an officer, whose name was Ingolsby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders. Had he made himself master of that redoubt, he might have easily and without loss brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the byways; they formed upon three lines pretty close, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon which galled them most terribly,

ribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon which they brought up against Fontenoi and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoi the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, was a rising ground.

The officers of the French guards said to one another, *we must go and take the English cannon.* Accordingly they ascended briskly to the top with their grenadiers; but, when they got there, great was their surprize to find a whole army before them. The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very near sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew
near

near the enemy ; the regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces. Campbell's and the royal Scotch were the first : Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant general, my lord Albemarle their major general, and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. My lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, *Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire.*

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant and since captain of grenadiers, made answer with a loud voice, *Gentlemen, we never fire first ; do you fire.* Then the captain said to his men, in English, *fire.* The English made a running fire, that is, they fired in divisions, in this manner, that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire ; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry. It was impossible but their eyes must have been surprized at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge ; Messieurs de Clisson, de Langey, and la Peyrere, lost their lives.

Ninety

Ninety five soldiers were killed upon the spot; two hundred and eighty five were wounded: eleven Swiss officers were wounded, as also one hundred and forty five of their common men, and sixty four were killed. Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant colonel, four officers, and seventy five soldiers, dropped down dead; fourteen officers and two hundred soldiers were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above three hundred fathom, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant general, did not come up till they were routed. The English in the mean time advanced gradually as if they were performing their exercise: one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers muskets, to make them fire low and straight.

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoi and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now straitened by the nature of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre: at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoi, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aid-de-camp

de-camp begged of him to begin with having his wound dressed : *The king's service, answered M. de Luttaux, is more dear to me than life.* He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre led by the colonel of that name ; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds. At this same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him ; an hundred and thirty soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank : upon which the regiment of English guards detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen captains, twelve lieutenants and seventy nine soldiers, and at the same time kills two hundred and sixty six soldiers on the spot. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself before the English column : but its colonel the duke d'Havre, the lieutenant colonel, all the staff officers, and, in short, thirty seven officers are wounded so as to be obliged to quit the field ; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, is overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne lost more than any other corps at these discharges: six of its officers, one hundred and thirty six soldiers were killed; thirty two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers were wounded.

The English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoi in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in this hollow way which lined Fontenoi, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched behind the heaps of their comrades who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time two battalions of French and Swiss guards were getting off by different roads, across the lines of cavalry which were above four hundred yards behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Lutteurs, first lieutenant general of the army, who was returning, between Antoin and Fontenoi. *Ab, Gentlemen,* said he, *do not rally me, I am wounded and obliged to retire.* He died some time after in unspeakable torments: before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards, *My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne.* Others

Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to *Our Lady in the wood*, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the wood of Barri, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion; of which he took the command, because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. *Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper*, answered the king; *but I will stay where I am*. This monarch was every moment sending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himself. The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning: of the first line of cavalry not above the half was left. The division of count d'Estrées was near Antoin, under the

the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side, while the English on the other were beginning to be victorious : the other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's division, remained under the command of the count d'Estrées. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fiennes led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name : but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must of course disperse all those small detached bodies, which successively presented themselves : Besides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire ; his illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler made of several folds of stitched taffety, which he carried on his saddle bow : he put on this buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel ; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal

shal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignacourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank; but the squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers who forced their way through with M. de Vignacourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil: the horse having received several wounds ran away with his master; while the but-end of the musket trailing on the ground widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broke through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenson, son of the secretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the same time that the regiment of Fiennes was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron; and upon a false report his father thought him killed. The
count

count de Brionne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Châbrillant, headed and rallied their troopers; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, camp-master of the cavalry, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi, were every where: all the general officers kept riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, suffered greatly: that of prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. All the staff officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisegur, messieurs de saint Sauveur, de saint Georges, de Mezières, aid quarter masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid major general, received a wound of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant general, (whose name is pronounced *d'Aché*) had his foot shattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguish obliged him to retire.

The more the English column advanced the deeper it became, and of course the better able to repair the continual losses which
it

it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder as far as the very place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the crowd that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change countenance, he was concerned, but shewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him towards *Our lady of the wood*, he said to a light horseman; *go and rally these men in my name, and bring them back.* The light horseman galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was *de Jouy*, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister inquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very instant from Daway, and notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy: but all these corps were received like the rest with the same intrepidity,

trepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a standard-bearer, was killed ; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. du Guesclin received a wound on the foot. The carabiniers charged the enemy ; but had six officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All these attacks were made without any concert or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which all the bravery in the world is of no manner of use against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, was still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire : he passed close under the front of the English column to observe every thing that passed towards the left near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very same manner as towards the right ; endeavouring but in vain, to throw the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after the other ; while the English, facing about on every side, placing properly their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked ; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceased to fire. The marshal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down,

down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was ; they told him it was the regiment des Vaisseaux, commanded by M. de Guerchi ; he then cried out ; *admirable indeed !* Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, one third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less : their colonel was the son of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany : the father served the enemy ; and his sons the king. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop ; near him the lieutenant colonel was mortally wounded ; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced ; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault : they were headed by their lieutenant colonel M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column : colonel Dillon was ~~killed~~, fifty six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoi. He goes and sees whether Fontenoi still held out ; there they had no

more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. du Brocard, lieutenant general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his Majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hopes, they were bringing back their field pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoi, though a supply of ball was arrived; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, though it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprized to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken but did not appear to receive further order: their countenance was bold and undaunted, and they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Bettens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability,

bility, for the king and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move towards the bridge of Calonne in order to favour this retreat in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aid-de-camp M. Dailvorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorges, who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king, must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoi, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland, must have had a bad opinion of the

the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross fire of Fontenoi and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance; the English horse which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoi or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered brigadier Ingolsby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadier obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies waiting to receive him; he went back for cannon. General Campbell promised him some, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready soon

soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing but of losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant general of the army, who served as aid-de-camp to the king: he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoi; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life guards; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gend-armes under his command, and these had stopped the column which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every side without being wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword in hand, and all covered with dust. *Well, Resce*, says marshal Noailles to him (this was a familiar expression used by the marshal) *what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion? My news*, says the duke of Richlieu, *is that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into disorder, the*

king's household and the other troops will surround it. *We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours.* But Fontenoi, said they, is possessed by the enemy. I come from thence, said the duke, it holds out still. *We must see,* replied they, *whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use.* He answered them, *there is no other to make of it.* He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and every body else joined in the opinion. He gave orders therefore that instantly they should go and bring four pieces of cannon. Twenty rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whose name was Issards, aged one and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Lewis.

The king charged the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed: they were designed, they said, to cover the retreat. *We shall make no retreat,* said the duke de Chaulnes, *the king commands that these four pieces contribute to the victory.* Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, goes and plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full speed in the king's name to give orders to the king's household to march: he communicates

municates this news to M. de Montesson the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke the Chaulnes does the same with his light horse; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the musketeers commanded by M. de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with sword in hand to put himself at the head of the king's household; but they stopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. *Mine is not precious, said he, it is the general's life that is precious the day of battle.*

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld with concern the troops quitting their post at Antoin; the count de la Marck their commander with reluctance obeying. *I will answer, said the duke de Biron, for his disobedience, I am sure the king will approve of it now that there is so great a change in our favour; I answer that marshal Saxe will think it right.* The marshal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced.

He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin; he moved notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Irish brigade, strictly recommending to all the troops that he met upon his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

Whilst he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and my lord Clare; the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croisy, were together on the right, opposite the left flank of the column upon a rising ground: they perceived the Irish and the regiment of Normandy who were advancing towards the right flank. *Now is the time*, said they to one another, *to march on our side, the English are beaten.* M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the rest advance under the count d'Estrées. Five squadrons of Penthievre's regiment follow M. de Croisy and his children; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabillant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant: it was the quickest

quickest and most unanimous movement. My lord Clare marches up with the Irish; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiss advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All these corps move at the same time; the Irish commanded by my lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes their lieutenant colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way; they force through it firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed on their muskets. M. de Bonnafanse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the first that jump'd upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carabiniers betwixt the Irish and the king's household, were then piercing through the first ranks; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the croud and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform as the English, for English battalions; and fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out *Vive France*, but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed through mistake.

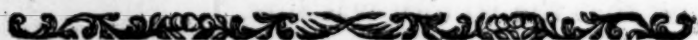
The four cannon which the duke of Richlieu had called for, and by the duke de Chaulnes had been levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrées, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell mell with the guards and musketeers. All the pages were there sword in hand; so that the marquis de Trefsan, who commanded the brigade of the king's body guards, said to the king after the battle, *Sire, you sent us pages whom we took for so many officers.*

The duke de Biron at that time held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade de Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boisseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king in his father's name, that

that the troops were rallied on every side, and that the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, dispatched by marshal Saxe to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed, general Ponsonby, my lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers were slain. The English repassed the hollow way betwixt Fontenoi and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with wounded and dead bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoi, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly encreased the importance of this ever-memorable day. .



SUPPLEMENT to the History of
the WAR of 1741.

Affairs of Genoa in 1746 and 1747.

THE war which began upon the Danube, and almost at the very gates of Vienna, and which at first seemed as if it would have lasted only a few months, was at the end of six years removed to the southern coasts of France. And at the same time that the Austrians and Piedmontese, masters of Genoa and of the whole coast, were making preparations to enter Provence, Brittany was likewise menaced by an English fleet.

The design of the Enemy, especially the English, was at that time to invade Provence; to destroy *Port L'Orient*, and with it the East India company; to make themselves masters of Port Louis, which must fall after *L'Orient*; to lay Brittany under contribution; to excite the calvinists towards Rochelle, Languedoc and Dauphiné, to a revolt; while they were concerting measures to attack the different settlements of France in Asia and America, and depended on making themselves masters of Naples,
after

after they had brought Genoa under the yoke.

These vast expectations were not without some foundation; for the Austrians were masters of Italy, and about this time the English had hardly any more enemies at sea. Indeed the king's campaigns and marshal Saxe's victories made amends for every thing. But the king of Great Britain reckoned that he should soon make the Dutch a warlike power, by obliging them to accept of his son-in-law for their stadtholder; besides, he was then contracting for an entire army of Russians, to stop the progress of the king's army in Flanders.

In this conjuncture Brittany was no more in a posture of defence than Provence. An old officer who commanded at Port Louis, wrote word to court: *I discovered on the 28th of September a fleet whose number is infinitely increased; but I shall easily withstand these Englishmen.* The 2d of October he wrote again: *they have landed at Polduc with three hundred and fifty flat bottom boats and fifty five men of war. If we had muskets we should beat them; but the peasants have nothing but pitchforks.*

By these letters it appears to what danger that country was exposed, notwithstanding the confident expressions of an old commander. General Sinclair, with about seven thousand regular troops, landed without opposition at the mouth of the little river of Polduc.

Polduc. From thence he advanced to Ple-mur, and encamped on an eminence which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis. Six days were spent before he cannonaded the town. If the English lost all this time, the French did not employ it better; for those who commanded in the place, and who were able to defend themselves a long time, as they had artillery and twelve thousand militia of Brittany, capitulated the first day of the attack, upon receiving a declaration of general Sinclair, in which, according to custom it was signified that he would destroy every one that resisted, with fire and sword.

Such mistakes, it is said, were committed on this occasion, as nothing except the conduct of general Sinclair could surpass. Never was there a stronger instance how greatly the fate of an important enterprize, and of a whole province, depends on a critical minute, on false advice, on a panic terror or a mistake. Early in the morning the drums of the militia who were not as yet perfect in their trade, beat the general. General Sinclair asked the people of the country why they beat the general after capitulation. Answer was made, that the garrison had laid a snare for him by capitulating, for they were going to fall upon him with twelve thousand men. During this conversation the wind changed, and admiral Lestock made a signal to give him notice

tice of it; upon which Sinclair afraid of being attacked, and of not having an opportunity of re-embarking his men, precipitately quitted his post, and returned to Plemur in some confusion.

In the mean time those who had made the capitulation, came out of town to make their submission to the English general: but they could hardly believe their eyes, when they found no body in the camp. So preposterously did the English re-imbark, just when the French were come to bring them the keys of the town. Ashamed of their bad conduct, they made a descent upon the little island of Quiberon; which was an enterprize as ill contrived, as that of Port *L'Orient* had been executed. For this being almost a desert island, the taking of it could answer no purpose. In short this great armament produced nothing but blunders and laughter, whereas every other part of the war was but too serious and too terrible.

At that time a revolution was carrying on in Genoa, much more important and more surprizing than that which had lately alarmed the coast of Brittany.

The Austrians used the right of conquest with the utmost rigour. The Genoese having exhausted their resources, and given away all the money of their bank of St. George, to pay sixteen millions of livres, desired to be forgiven the other eight. But the thirtieth of November, 1746, notice was

was given them on the part of the empress queen, that they must not only pay that sum, but likewise as much more, for the maintenance of nine regiments who were quartered in the suburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena, and Bisagno, and in the neighbouring villages. At the publishing of these orders, despair seized every inhabitant; their misery was at the utmost pitch; their commerce ruined, their credit lost, their bank exhausted, their lands laid waste, their fine country houses which embellished the environs of Genoa, plundered, and in short the inhabitants treated as slaves by the soldiery. They had nothing more to lose but their lives, and there was not a single Genoese who did not seem determined to lose the last drop of his blood, rather than to bear any longer with so severe and so ignominious a treatment.

The captive Genoese reckoned among the rest of their disgraces the loss of the kingdom of Corsica, which had been long in a state of rebellion; and now they made no doubt but the malecontents would be supported by the victorious arms of Austria. In this chaos of revolutions, Corsica which pretended to be oppressed by Genoa, as Genoa by the Austrians, rejoiced at the calamity of her masters. This surplusage of affliction affected only the senate; by losing Corsica they were deprived only of a phantom of authority; but the rest of the Genoese were a prey to those real sorrows with
which

which human misery is attended. Some of the senators privately and with great address fomented the desperate resolutions, which the inhabitants seemed disposed to take. It behoved them to act with the greatest circumspection on this occasion; for in all probability a hasty and ill concerted insurrection would have been attended with the destruction of both senate and city. The emissaries of the senate contented themselves with saying to those who seemed to have most credit among the people: *How long will you wait till the Austrians come to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, to rob you of the little food you have yet left? Their troops are dispersed without the inclosure of the walls: in the city there are only those that guard the gates; you are here above forty thousand men able to strike a blow; is it not far preferable to die, than to be spectators of the ruin of your country?* By a thousand such discourses were the minds of the people inflamed; but they did not yet stir, as no body had dared to set up the standard of liberty. An opportunity soon offered. The Austrians wanted to remove some cannon and mortars out of the arsenal of Genoa, for the expedition into Provence; and they obliged the inhabitants to perform this drudgery. The people murmured, but obeyed. An Austrian captain having rudely struck an inhabitant, who did not bestir himself sufficiently, this was as a signal, at which the people assembled, rose, and

and armed themselves in a moment, with every thing they could lay hold on, with stones, sticks, swords, muskets, weapons of every kind. The people who had not the least thoughts of defending the town when the enemy was at a distance, rose up in its defence when it was in the possession of the Austrians.

The marquis de Botta, who was then at St. Pietro d'Arena imagined that this popular insurrection would subside of itself, and that this transient fury would soon be succeeded by fear. The next day he only reinforced the guards of the town gates, and sent some detachments into the streets. Upon this the people assembled in greater crowds than the preceding day, and flock to the doge's palace, demanding the arms that were kept there. The doge made no answer: but the domestics pointed out another magazine; the people immediately run and break it open, and arm themselves; about an hundred officers are distributed among the populace; they barricade the streets; and though it was now become necessary to establish some kind of order in the midst of this sudden and furious commotion, yet it did not in the least slacken the popular ardour.

One would think that this and the following days, the consternation which had so long possessed the minds of the Genoese, was transfused into the Austrians. The marquis de Botta was in S. Pietro d'Arena with some regiments,

regiments, and yet did not attempt to fight the people with his regular troops: he suffered the revolted to make themselves masters of the gates of S. Thomas and S. Michael. The senate as yet dubious whether the people would maintain what they had so bravely begun, sent a deputation to the Austrian general in S. Pietro d'Arena. The marquis de Botta was negotiating when he should have been fighting. He told the senators that they should arm the Genoese troops, whom he had left disarmed in the town, and that they should join the Austrians to fall upon the rebels, as soon as he had made a proper signal. Some of the senators, who were devoted to the enemy, promised to execute his orders: but it was not to be expected that the Genoese senate should join with the oppressors of their country, to finish its destruction.

The Germans, depending on the correspondence they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Bisagno, through the suburb of that name, but they were received with a volley of cannon and musket-shot. The people of Genoa composed an army: The drum was beat in their name, and orders were issued out upon pain of death, to every citizen to make his public appearance in arms, and to range himself under the colours of his respective ward. The Germans were attacked at the same time in the suburb of Bisagno, and in S. Pietro d'Arena. The alarm-

alarm-bell was rung in all the villages of the valleys; and the peasants assembled, to the number of twenty thousand. A nobleman of the house of Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis of Botta in S. Pietro d'Arena; when the general and his nine regiments were obliged to save themselves by flight. They left four thousand prisoners behind them, and above a thousand slain, with all their magazines and equipages, and retired in great disorder to the post of Bochetta; hither they were pursued by the peasants, who forced them at length to quit this post, and to fly as far as Gavi. Thus it was that the Austrians lost Genoa, for having despised and oppressed the people, and for being so simple as to believe that the senate would join with them against the inhabitants, who had taken up arms in defence of that very senate. Europe was surprised to see how a weak people, who had never been bred to arms, and whom neither the inclosure of their rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been able to save from the Austrian yoke, had the bravery, unassisted, to break their chains, and to expel their conquerors.

In this commotion a great many violences were committed: the people plundered several houses belonging to the senators suspected of favouring the Austrians. But what was more surprising in this revolution is, that this very same people, who had four thousand of
their

their conquerors in prison, and had driven away the remainder, did not turn their arms against their masters. It is true, they had chiefs; but these were pointed out by the senate, and none of them were considerable enough to usurp the authority for any time. The people chose thirty six citizens for their governors; but they added four senators to the number, *viz.* Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari. These four nobles gave an account of every thing to the senate, who did not seem to concern themselves any longer in the government, though they governed in effect: they disavowed at Vienna the revolution which they were fomenting at Genoa, and for which they apprehended the most dreadful chastisement. Their minister at that court declared, that the Genoese nobility had no share in that change which was called a revolt. The court of Vienna behaving still as masters, and fancying they should soon be able to recover Genoa, intimated to this minister, that the senate should instantly pay the eight millions of livres, which was the remaining part of their fine, and thirty millions more for the damage done to their troops; that they should restore all the prisoners, and punish the ringleaders of the revolt. These laws, which a provoked master might have prescribed to an important and rebellious subject, served only to confirm the Genoese in the resolution of defending themselves, and in the hopes of driving

ing from their territory those whom they had expelled their capital. The four thousand Austrians in the prisons of Genoa, were hostages that quieted their fears.

It is in those times of calamity and despair, that the spirit of patriotism and magnanimity seem to exert themselves with the greatest force; whether it be that those virtues become more conspicuous in the general desolation, or whether indeed the love of one's oppressed country does not revive the whole vigour of the soul, so as to raise human nature above itself. Of this was seen a memorable instance in Augustin Adorno. This brave republican commanded in the town of Savona, which belongs to the territory of the republic. It was besieged by the king of Sardinia; and the senate having submitted to the Austrians, ordered him to give up the town. He made answer, that he could not obey any other orders than those of a free senate; after which he held out long enough for succours, but none came. The people of Genoa, though victorious at home, were not sufficiently disciplined to engage in the open field; and France being obliged to defend Provence, could not spare any troops for her allies on the other side of the Alps. Thus the valour of Augustin Adorno * only served to make him prisoner of war, at the very time that Genoa was delivered: but he merited the praises of his country, as well as
of

16th December.

of the king of Sardinia to whom he surrendered.

This revolution of Genoa was of great service to Provence. The Austrians, who already possessed one third part of the country, no longer received either provisions or ammunition by the way of Genoa, as in the beginning. And yet they were advanced as far as the river of Argens, with a design of attacking Toulon and Marseilles, assisted by the English fleet.

They soon * took the islands of St. Margaret and St. Honorat, which had only a garrison of invalids.

In those isles several state prisoners were confined; who flattered themselves with hopes that the English would set them at liberty: but the commanding officer capitulated so quick, that they permitted him to carry off all his prisoners, with other effects belonging to the king, and his little garrison. It is surprizing that several public journals should pretend to say, that this commanding officer was the marquis de Dreux, lieutenant general and grand master of the ceremonies. The mistake is owing to this, that the marquis de Dreux is lord of those islands. The person who commanded there, was an old officer, who was tried by a council of war, and condemned to imprisonment, for surrendering so precipitately.

After

* December 16.

After the taking of those islands, the enemy began the siege of Antibes. It was not an easy matter to stop the progress of an army that had seventy one battalions, eight thousand irregulars, and eight thousand horse. Marshal Bellisle was entrusted with this undertaking.

Upon his arrival he could only be a spectator of the deplorable situation, and of the despondency of the whole province, as well as of the king's troops. He was neither able to hinder the passage of the Var, nor to protect the country occupied by the Austrians, who expected a reinforcement of thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, with cannon, ammunition, and provisions. The coasts were guarded by a few frightened militia. The troops, under no sort of discipline, took hay and straw by force from the inhabitants; and the mules employed in the service of the army, perished for want of food. The enemy had plundered and laid waste the whole country, from the Var to the river of Argens and the Durance. Their generals permitted their troops to pillage Vence and Grasse for the space of six hours, because these towns had not been expeditious in paying their contributions.

The infant don Philip and the duke of Modena were at Aix in Provence, where they waited to see what efforts France and Spain would make to extricate themselves from this cruel situation. The supplies were as yet

yet far off; while the dangers and wants were pressing. Marshal Bellisle began with borrowing fifty thousand crowns in his own name, to relieve the most urgent necessities. He was obliged to perform the office of intendant, and of commissary of the stores. Then, as fast as the troops came in, he made himself master of different posts, where he stopped the progress of the Austrians. On the one side he covered Castellane on the Verdon, when the Austrians were going to take possession of it; and on the other he secured Draguignan and Brignoles.

At length, towards the beginning of January, 1747, finding his army increased to sixty battalions and twenty two squadrons, and being seconded by the marquis de Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he looked upon himself as in a condition to attack the enemy. Count Brown who commanded the Austrians, and the marquis of Ormea who was at the head of a body of Piedmontese, were a great deal superior to him in forces. But they met with greater difficulties in procuring subsistence for their army. This is an essential point, which frustrates the end of most invasions. Their first defeat * began with a post in the neighbourhood of Castellane, from whence a captain of the regiment of Lyonnais, whose name was Daupenet, drove them with sword in hand. They occupied from Sener to S.

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Tropes

* January 7, 1747.

Tropes the space of forty leagues. A considerable body was beaten and dislodged from † Castellane by the count de Maulevrier, and by the marquis de Taubin a Spaniard. Another corps were also dislodged, and obliged to repass the river of Argens. Marshal Belfisle, by his winning manner, engaged the Spanish troops to second him in every attempt. The marquis de la Mina joined with him in all his schemes; and this perfect harmony contributed greatly to their common success. The enemy were pursued from post to post, and always with loss. At length the marshal obliged them to repass the Var, and delivered Provence.

There remained now * only one difficult enterprize for the king, and this was to relieve Genoa. During the whole war he had been occupied in protecting his allies; first the emperor Charles VII. afterwards the prince of Spain don Philip, then the pretender to the crown of England, and finally the Genoese; and in the whole course of the war fresh dangers arose from his successes.

Marshal Belfisle had now driven the Austrians and Piedmontese out of Provence: but there was reason to fear that this very enemy, who were strong enough to guard the passage of the Alps, had also sufficient strength to fall upon Genoa, and afterwards upon Naples. Though Genoa had expelled the enemy from her walls, yet she was still blocked

blocked up by sea and land. Count Schullenburg succeeded the marquis de Botta, and continually threatened the first inclosure. Admiral Medley took as much care as possible that no succours should enter the harbour. Yet the king of France was continually supplying them. Marshal Bellisle began with sending them twenty thousand lewidores by eight officers, among whom this sum was equally distributed. He ordered them to throw the money into the sea, in case they should not be so lucky as to escape. The officers arrived with the money, provisions, and soldiers, and especially with great promises. With this encouragement the Genoese withstood all the attacks of the Austrians, as well as the proposals of the court of Vienna; for this court had still the assurance to treat with a people, whom so severe a treatment and so glorious a revolution must have rendered ever irreconcilable. The Austrians demanded money of them, when they had none; and on the contrary the king of France gave them money.

It was not enough for the French to have obliged the Austrians and Piedmontese to repass the Var; it was also incumbent upon them to pass that river in pursuit of the enemy, to drive them beyond the mountains, to enter Italy once more, and above all things speedily to relieve Genoa. There was no sending any succours to that city but by sea; and these were to steal unknown to the En-

glish fleet, which was cruizing off that coast. At that time there were but eight ships at Toulon, disarmed and laid up, besides three frigates, and two barks; so that they were able to arm only six gallies, for want of slaves and seamen. In the mean time the Austrians, assisted by the Piedmontese, threatened to recover possession of Genoa. Count Schullenburg, nephew of the Venetian general, had reinforced his army with Albanians: these are the ancient Epirots, who are esteemed to be as good soldiers as their ancestors. He had repassed the Bocchetta, and kept Genoa closely blockaded; while the country both to the right and left was given up to the fury of the irregular troops, to plunder and devastation. Genoa was in terror, and the consternation they were in produced some secret correspondence with their oppressors: to complete their misery, there was a great division betwixt the senate and the people. The town did not want provisions, but money; they were at the expence of eighteen thousand florins a day, to maintain the militia who fought in the country, or defended the city. The republic had no regular troops well disciplined, nor no experienced officer: they could expect no succours but by sea, and even these at the hazard of being picked up by the English fleet, as happened to those which had been sent to prince Edward. These succours were expected from France
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and Spain; and if they did not come soon, all was lost.

The king of France had already sent a million of livres to the senate. The galleys were now ordered to set out from Toulon and Marseilles with about six thousand men on board. They put into Corsica and Monaco, by distress of weather, but chiefly to avoid the English fleet. The master of a small vessel belonging to this convoy, who was a foreigner, took this opportunity to commit a treacherous action. He gave notice of the embarkation to the English admiral, who came and fell upon the convoy; but they lost only six small vessels with about a thousand soldiers. At length the first succours reached Genoa to the number of about four thousand French, who revived the drooping hopes of the Genoese.

Soon after * arrived the duke of Boufflers, to take upon him the command of the troops that were to defend Genoa, and whose number daily increased. The general himself was obliged to take his passage in an open boat, in order to escape admiral Medley's fleet. If the English had been as diligent and artful as they were, magnanimous in their undertaking, they would have had a proper number of small craft well armed, which would have kept near the shore when their great ships could not, and have rendered it extremely difficult for

* Last of April.

the French to send any succours. For want of some such precaution, detachments of French, Spaniards, and Swiss, were successively going into Genoa from the coast of France; at the same time they were supplied with provisions from the coast of Italy, while the English were only bare spectators.

The duke of Boufflers was now at the head of about eight thousand regular troops, in a town which was blocked up, and expected every moment to be besieged. There was very little order among them, not much provisions, and no powder; besides, the heads of the people were not properly subordinate to the senate. The Austrians had still some secret intelligence in the town. Thus the duke of Boufflers had as much difficulty to deal with those whom he was come to defend, as with the enemy. Yet he established order in every quarter; at the same time provisions of all kinds were imported in plenty, by means of a secret consideration given to the captains of the English ships; so greatly do public calamities depend on private interest.

The Austrians had some monks on their side; the same arms were employed against them with greater force. The priests were prevailed upon to refuse absolution to those who should balance a moment between the enemy and their country. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom
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he encouraged by his enthusiastic declamation, and by his example in fighting; he was killed in one of those daily skirmishes, and with his last breath exhorted the Genoese to defend their country. The ladies pawned their jewels to supply the expences of the necessary operations.

But of all these encouragements the most powerful was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke of Boufflers often employed in attacking the enemy in their posts beyond the double inclosure of Genoa. There were a great many more, the possession of which would have rendered the operations of the siege much easier to the enemy: one among the rest on the coast of Rivarola, of which the Austrians and Piedmontese made themselves masters*, very near the mountain of the two brothers, and from whence they were by all means to be dislodged. This action, conducted with as much prudence as vigour, revived all their hopes. The count de Lanion distinguished himself on this occasion, as also the chevalier de Chauvelin†, who was wounded in the engagement. Here the French lost colonel la Faye, son of the captain of the guards whose character is so well known in Paris. This young officer had inherited from his father a very high degree of courage with great application to the sciences; and from his uncle he had learnt to improve

* May 21, 1747.

† June 13.

in the most agreeable parts of polite literature. The author of this narrative, who knew his merit, cannot too much lament his loss.

The Genoese succeeded in almost every one of those little skirmishes, which at that time engrossed their whole attention, and were afterwards swallowed up in the multitude of more important events. But what disconcerted all the measures of the Austrians in Italy was the progress marshal Bellisle was making with his army. He had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Antibes, while his brother retook the isles of S. Margaret within sight of the English fleet: he was master of Nice, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; and the king of Sardinia was obliged to recal his troops to defend his own dominions. The Austrians, being obliged to make a stand against Bellisle's army, could not besiege Genoa in form, lest the French should advance; so that the court of Vienna at length gave orders for raising the blockade.

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The duke of Boufflers did not long enjoy this happiness and glory. He died of the small pox the very day the enemy retired. He was the son of marshal Boufflers, a general much esteemed under Lewis XIV. a man of honour, and a good subject. The son inherited the amiable qualities of his father.

The E N D.

